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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

ARABIC AND PERSIAN SUPPLEMENT

(In continuation of the series Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica)

1964

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KHALJI AND TUGHLUQ INSCRIPTIONS FROM UTTAR PRADESH

By W. H. Siddiqi and Dr. Z. A. Desai

The available historical material on the Sultanate period, particularly in respect of different regions and provinces, is much limited, partly because, these areas, generally speaking, were ignored by contemporary chroniclers who were mainly concerned with activities at the centre. An important source for the regional history is provided by epigraphical data. This is also true of Uttar Pradesh, but no systematic efforts have been made in recent years to utilize this important source material. No doubt, isolated efforts were made in the past, and quite a few epigraphs from the province dated in the reigns of the Khaljī and Tughluq dynasties were published.[1] Even then, a considerable number of inscriptions of these rulers still remains unpublished. In this article, we propose to publish eighteen epigraphs, copied in recent years. They are published here for the first time except in the case of a few whose texts have been quoted elsewhere without illustrations and critical notes.

Needless to say, these records constitute an important source for the regional history of the state over a period of a little more than a century. They supply information not to be found elsewhere, recording as they do the names of some officials, saints and the like personages who are otherwise not known. The calligraphy of some of these is also quite remarkable.

'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 696, FROM KOT

This inscription constitutes the earliest known record of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī. It was copied, along with another, also of the same king, from a small mosque at Kot in the Khaga *tahsil* of Fatehpur district.[2] This small decayed village is situated on the northern bank of the Yamuna on the ruins of an ancient fort at the height of about thirtyfive metres.[3] Among its old remains may be seen the tomb and mosque of Saidan Shāh Fatḥpūrī, the successor of the well-known saint Ḥusāmu'l-Ḥaq of Manikpur; there are also few other mosques and tombs now in ruins, which were presumably built in the Mughal period.[4] The mosque bearing the present inscription is locally called Lādīn-kī-Masjid (i.e. 'Alāu'd-Dīn's mosque)—evidently on the basis of the two inscriptions referred to above—and is said to have been rebuilt on the same site with the material

[1] For these, please see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1917-18, pp. 17 (pl. IVa), 21 (pl. Vb), 30 (pl. Xa), 36-37 (pl. XIVa), 42 (pl. XIVb); *ibid.*, 1937-38, pp. 7 (pl. IIIb), 39 (pl. XIIb), 60 (pl. XXIc).

[2] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1961-62, No. D, 302; H. R. Nevill, *U. P. District Gazetteers*, vol. XX, Fatehpur (Allahabad, 1906), p. 259. Except otherwise stated, the inscriptions studied here were copied by Shri W. H. Siddiqi, Senior Epigraphical Assistant, Archaeolgical Survey of India, Nagpur.

[3] Nevill, *op. cit.*; Muḥammad Sher Afgan Khān, *Ā'īna-i-Aqwāmu'l-Islām*, in Urdu, vol. I, No. 1, p. 17.

[4] Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

of an earlier mosque, which was alleged to have been constructed in A.H. 595 (1198-99 A.D.) in the time of Shihābu'd-Dīn Ghorī by Malik Bābur *alias* Malik Bhabhal of Khokhar community and was washed away by the Yamuna about a hundred and fifty years ago.[1]

The epigraph is engraved in relief in four lines on a large slab measuring 91 by 52 cm. which is fixed into the north wall of the said mosque. It records the construction of a building of unspecified nature in A.H. 696 or 1296 A.D. and not in A.H. 698 as stated by Nevill.[2]

The most important aspect of this inscription is that it was set up within the first few months of the accession of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, which took place first at Kara immediately after the assassination of his uncle on the 16th (according to Amīr Khusraw) or 17th (according to Baranī) of Ramaḍān A.H. 695 and secondly in Delhi on the 22nd Dhi'l-Ḥijja A.H. 695 (20th October 1296 A.D.).[3]

The inscription is also interesting in another respect: it will be observed that the text quotes the title *Sikandar-i-Thānī* (second Alexander), which clearly shows that it was adopted by 'Alāu'd-Dīn immediately on his accession and not after 1299 A.D. as is stated by Baranī and accepted by later writers.[4]

The language of the record is Arabic, and the style of writing is bold *Naskh*, typical of the records of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, but a little unartistic. Sher Afgan Khān had also published its text, but it is neither complete nor correct.[5] We have deciphered it as under :—

TEXT

Plate I(a)

(١) [بنى ه]ذ العمارة فے عهد السلطان المعظم علا

(٢) الدنيا و الدين سكندر الثانے يمين الخلافة ابو المظفر محمـ[د]

(٣) شاه السلطان ناصر امير المومنين خلد ملكه اضعف عباد الله

(٤) الاكبر الحسين بن عمر فے الغرة من صفر سنة ست و تسعين و ستماية

TRANSLATION

(1) This building was constructed during the reign of the magnificent sulṭān 'Alā-

(2) u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, the second Alexander, the right arm of the caliphate, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Muḥamma[d]

(3) Shāh the sulṭān, helper of the leader of the Faithful (i.e. Caliph), may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom, by the weakest of the creatures of Allāh

(4) the great, Ḥusain, son of 'Umar, on the first of the month of Ṣafar, year (A.H.) six and ninety and six hundred (1st Ṣafar A.H. 696=29th November 1296 A.D.).

We are unable to establish the identity of the builder.[6]

---

[1] Khān, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21. Needless to say, there is absolutely no substance in Sher Afgan Khān's identification of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh of the present epigraph with the Ghorid king who had died almost a century ago.

[2] Nevill, *op. cit.*

[3] Amīr Khusraw, *Khazā'inu'l-Futūḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Waḥīd Mīrzā (Calcutta, 1953), p. 12. for the second event, Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 242, does not quote the month. He simply states that 'Alāu'd-Dīn was crowned in the months (*Shuhūr*) of the year A.H. 695.

[4] Baranī, *op cit.*, p. 263 ; Dr. K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljīs* (Allahabad, 1950), p. 90.

[5] Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

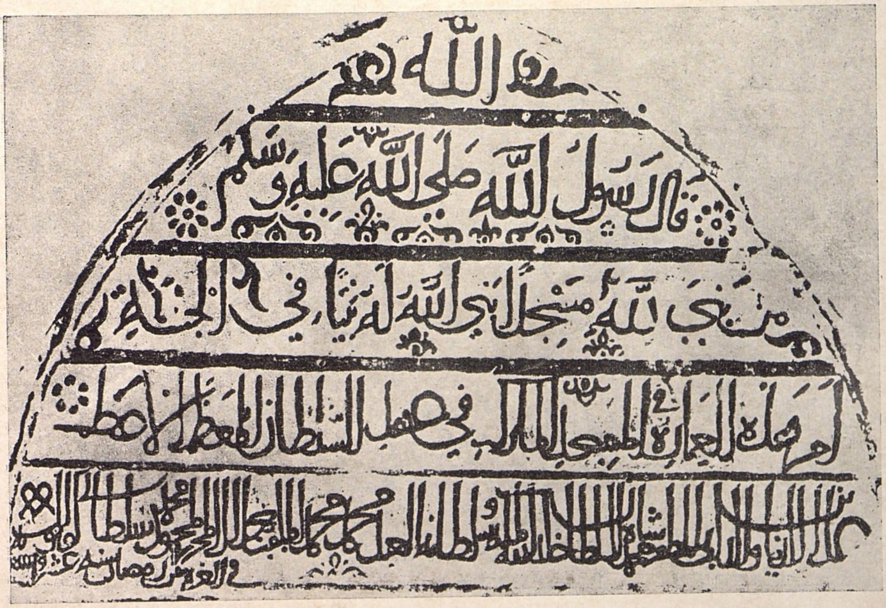
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 26 reads the name of the builder as Akbar Ḥasan, son of 'Umar and makes wild suggestions about the identification of both the father and the son.

KHALJĪ AND TUGHLUQ KINGS

(*a*) Inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, dated A.H. 696, from Kot (p. 2)

SCALE : ·13

(*b*) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 710, from Bulandshahr (p. 4)



SCALE : ·14

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 706, FROM JAJMAU

The second inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī was copied in 1961 from Jajmau in Kanpur District.[1] Situated on the bank of the Ganges about four miles to the east of the district headquarters, Jajmau is a place of antiquarian interest, and one can still see the remains of its past glory in the form of large mounds and ruined monuments of different periods.[2] It has been mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī and later on by Abu'l-Faḍl.[3]

The slightly damaged epigraphical tablet bearing this valuable record measures 1·24 m. by 32 cm. and is set up over the central *miḥrāb* of the 'Īdgāh, situated in the old locality of the town. The monument itself is a remarkable structure. The inscription consists of three lines of writing in Arabic executed in relief in *Naskh* style of a fairly good order. The arrangement of its letters is pretty and their fine execution is quite pleasing. The writing being slightly damaged, a few words are not clearly legible.

According to the epigraph, the building—by which in all probability the 'Īdgāh is intended since the tablet appears to be *in situ*—was constructed by the order of the great Malik Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Yūsuf Khānī in 1307 A.D. during the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, by Muwaffaq, son of Musayyad.

The text of the inscription is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate II(a)

(۱) بنیت هذه العمارة فی عهد السلطان العالم العادل المعظم علاء الدنیا و الدین

سکندر الثانی ابو المظفر محمد

(۲) شاه السلطان خلد ملکه بامر الملک الکبیر (؟) العادل الغازی (؟) سیف الدولة و

الدین یوسف خانی دام اقباله

(۳) فی الغرة من رجب سنة ست و سبعمایة المعار موفق بن مسید اصلحه الله اموره

TRANSLATION

(1) This building was constructed during the reign of the magnificent, just and learned sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, the second Alexander, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad

(2) Shāh the sulṭān, may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom, by the order of the great and the just Malik, champion of Faith, Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Yūsuf Khānī, may his good fortune last for ever,

(3) on the first of (the month of) Rajab, year (A.H.) six and seven hundred (1st Rajab A.H. 706=6th January 1307 A.D.). The builder[4] is Muwaffaq, son of Musayyad, may Allāh improve his affairs for him !

---

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 318.

[2] Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. XIX, Cawnpur (Allahabad, 1909), pp. 299-301.

[3] E. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, vol. I (London, 1914), p. 200; Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1872), pp. 349, 430.

[4] The term *mi'mār* is found loosely employed in inscriptions. It may mean builder as well as architect or mason. But builder seems to be more appropriate here.

Malik Saifu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Yūsuf Khānī under whose orders the building was erected was evidently an officer of position. But it is quite difficult to identify him with certainty. There are quite a few nobles of rank of the time of Khaljī and early Tughluq periods who bore the name Yūsuf and in one case even the title Saifu'd-Dīn. For example, Malik Yūsuf was the deputy at Depalpur during the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Tughluq.[1] But no title is mentioned along with his name. Then, Malik Saifu'd-Dīn Yūsuf was *shaḥna-i-pīl* under the same king.[2] Malik Yūsuf Ṣūfī Khān and Yūsuf Bughrā are other well-known figures of the period.[3] But in this connexion, it is worthwhile to remember that the name recorded in the text is Yūsuf Khānī and not Yūsuf Khān. Broadly speaking, the name Yūsuf Khānī may be interpreted to mean that he was an attendant or trusted leiutenant of Yūsuf Khān. But it is difficult to determine the identity of the latter. In any case, our inscription indicates by implication that Malik Saifu'd-Dīn Yūsuf Khānī was an officer of rank in the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khāljī and had most probably held the charge of Jajmau.

About Muwaffaq, the builder who built the 'Īdgāh, we have no information. His name seems to indicate his Arab extraction.

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 710, FROM BULANDSHAHR

Another new record of this king found recently is from Bulandshahr, headquarters of the district of the same name. The old name of the town was Baran, and it is a place of considerable antiquity. It possesses a few tombs and mosques of the early Muslim period, but none of any architectural significance.[4] Incidentally, the earliest epigraphical records of the Muslim period found here include a unique though fragmentary inscription of queen Raḍiyya.[5]

The arch-shaped tablet, measuring 63 cm. from apex to bottom and 1 m. in width, on which the record under study is engraved, is now fixed into the eastern wall of the older part of the Jāmi' mosque,[6] but it is difficult to say if it is *in situ*. It contains six lines of writing in Arabic, the first three of which are devoted to religious texts and the remaining record the construction of a building in a mosque in 1311 A.D. during the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, by Muḥammad son of Muḥammad, entitled Jalāl, who was secretary (*muḥarrir*) to Maḥmūd son of Muḥammad Sulṭānī, the *koṭwāl*. The style of writing is *Naskh*.

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate I (b)

(۱) الله

(۲) قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم

(۳) من بنى لله مسجدا بنى الله له بيتا فى الجنة

[1] Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

[2] 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Agra, 1938), pp. 376, 397, records his name as Yūsuf and post as *shaḥna-i-pīl*, but Yaḥyā, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), pp.119, 127, omits the name and refers to him as Malik Saifu'd-Dīn *shaḥna-i-pīl*.

[3] Baranī, *op cit.*, pp. 402, 410, 415, 416, 454.

[4] For details, see *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (*IG*), (Oxford, 1908), vol. IX, pp. 57-58.

[5] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 250. The inscriptions from Bulandshahr were copied by Shri A. A. Kadiri, Epigraphical Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.

[6] *Ibid.*, No. D, 256.

(۴) امر هذه العمارة فے المسجد المبارکة فی عهد السلطان المعظم الاعظم

(۵) علا الدنیا و الدین ابی المظفر محمد شاه السلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه العبد محمد

محمد الملقب بجلال المحرر لمحمود محمد سلطانی کوتوال

(۶) فے الغرة من رمضان سنة عشر و سبعمایة

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh.

(2) The Apostle of Allāh, may Allāh's blessings and salutations be upon him, has said,

(3) 'One who builds for Allāh a mosque, Allāh will build for him a house in paradise'.

(4) The construction of this building in the auspicious mosque was ordered in the reign of the great and illustrious sulṭān,

(5) 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abi'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, by the servant, Muḥammad (son of) Muḥammad, entitled Jalāl, secretary (*muḥarrir*) to Maḥmūd, son of Muḥammad Sulṭānī, the *kotwāl*,

(6) on the first day of Ramaḍān, year (A.H.) ten and seven hundred (1st Ramaḍān A.H. 710=22nd January 1311 A.D.).

The builder of the mosque, Muḥammad entitled Jalāl, is not known to history. It is only from the present epigraph that we get the valuable information that he was secretary to the *koṭwāl* of the town, Maḥmūd son of Muḥammad Sulṭānī. The latter may, however, be identified with some certainty. We are told that Maḥmūd (son of) Muḥammad received the title Mīr Khān on the accession of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Mubārak Shāh in A.H. 1316 A.D.[1] He is very likely the same person.

IV. ANOTHER INSCRIPTION FROM KOT

The fourth inscription of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī also comes from the Lādin-kī-Masjid at Kot mentioned above (p. 2). The inscriptional slab measuring 56 by 30 cm. is fixed into the southern wall[2] and contains a record of two lines in Arabic executed in *Naskh* of a fairly good type. Unfortunately, the tablet seems to have been badly damaged and even cracked in places, with the result that this interesting record has suffered much damage. The writing is greatly affected: not only is its year illegible, but even the names of the persons mentioned therein are not absolutely clear. From whatever portion of the text is decipherable, it seems to record the construction of a mosque during the governorship of Malik Tāju'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn by Kamālu'd-Dīn Malik Jīwand (?). In any case, there is absolutely no basis for the reading of the date as A.H. 590 (1194 A.D.), which in turn gave rise to such farfetched theories about the first Muslim contact with the place as are recorded along with the local traditions by Nevill and Sher Afgan Khān; the latter also quotes an incomplete and corrupt reading of the epigraph.[3] There is no doubt at all about the reading of the name and titles of 'Alāu'd-Dīn.

[1] Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
[2] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 301.
[3] Nevill, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59; Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate II(c)

(١) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم امر عمارة هذ المسجد فی عهد السلطان المعظم علا الدنيا
و الدين سكندر الثانی ابی المظفر محمد شا[ه]

(٢) السلطان[1] خلد ملکه فی نوبت الملک العادل تاج الحق و الدين......كمال الدولة
و الدين ملک جيوند (؟) فی الثامن و العشرين من..........و سبعماية

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. The building of this mosque was ordered in the reign of the magnificent sulṭān, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, the second Alexander, Abi'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh

(2) the sulṭān, may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom, (and) during the time of the just Malik Tāju'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn . . . . [by ?] Kamālu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Malik Jīwand (?), on the twentyeighth of (the month of) . . . . seven hundred . . . . . .

Malik Tāju'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn whose name it is not possible to decipher, may have been one of the quite a few noblemen bearing this title who flourished at about this period. To name only a few, Malik Tāju'd-Dīn Kūchī was a distinguished noble of Jalālu'd-Dīn Khaljī and had *iqṭā'* in the eastern region.[2] Then there were Malik Tāju'd-Dīn Ja'far, Malik Tāju'd-Dīn Kāfūrī and Malik Tāju'd-Dīn Kuhrāmī.[3] Baranī also mentions one Sayyid Tāju'd-Dīn, the *qāḍī* of Kara during the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī, who was renowned for his learning and whom he had met.[4] We have not been able to get any reference to Malik Kamālu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Malik Jīwand, the builder of the mosque, who must have been a prominent figure of his time and who may have held some office at Kot or in its neighbourhood as his title tends to suggest.

V. INSCRIPTION FROM BULANDSHAHR

The fifth inscription is a fragmentary but new record of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī and was found by Shri A. A. Kadiri in 1961. The tablet, which measures 67 by 34 cm. in its present state, is fixed into the extreme right side of the eastern wall of the Mughal-Masjid in Maḥalla Shaikhān at Bulandshahr.[5] Considerable portion of the tablet seems to have been lost, for it appears that the text consisted of not less than six hemistiches in any case. The extant text which merely contains a little more than two hemistiches, is too meagre to yield full purport. Nevertheless, it seems to indicate that a fort or city-wall was constructed in the reign of the king whose title was second Alexander. It is true that the object of construction and the king's name are missing in the extant text, but from the hemistich, 'if Alexander the first constructed one strong

[1] The reading of the underlined words is purely tentative.

[2] Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

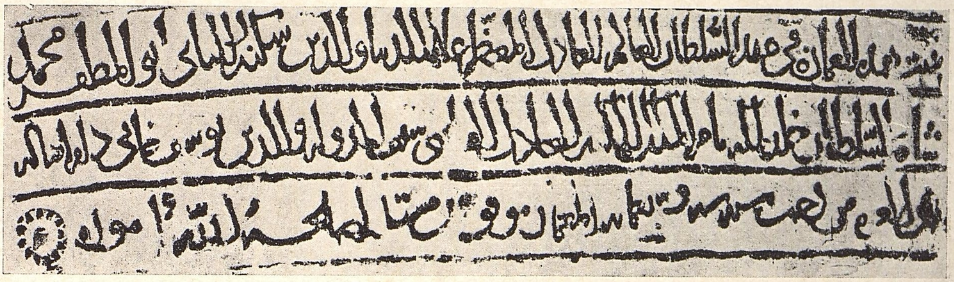
[3] Baranī, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 240, 350, 379.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

[5] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 257.

PLATE II

(*a*) Another epigraph of ‘Alāu’d-Dīn Khaljī, dated A.H. 706, from Jajmau (p. 3)

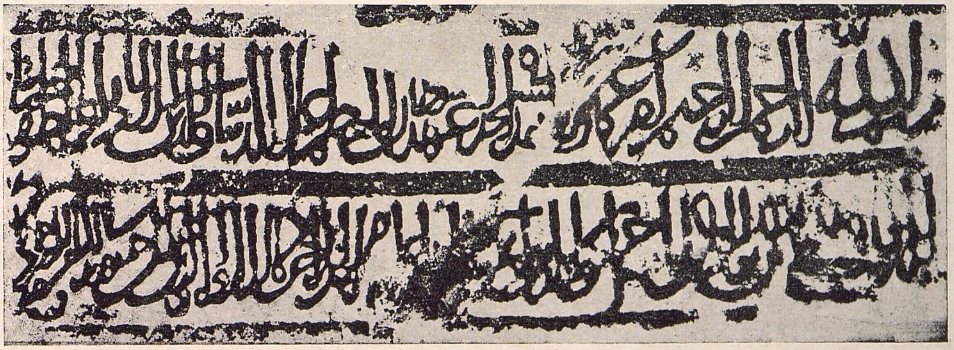


SCALE : ·13

(*b*) Record of the same king, from Bulandshahr (p. 7)

SCALE : ·18

(*c*) Another record of the same king, from Kot (p. 6)



SCALE : ·29

wall,' the text must imply that the second Alexander had constructed more and stronger walls. Since 'second Alexander' was the title adopted by 'Alāu'd-Dīn, and the calligraphy is also similar to that of his inscriptions, there should be little hesitation in assigning the record to his reign.

The style of writing is conventional bold *Naskh* characteristic of the early Khaljī records, and the language is Persian verse.

The extant text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate II(b)

(۱) ....بهیبت دین   اگر سکندر اول بکرد یک سدی

(۲) ....همایون باد   برین دعا بفلک می کند ملک آمین

TRANSLATION

(1) . . . . for the awe of religion.

If Alexander the first constructed one strong wall,[1] . . . .

(2) . . . . may prove auspicious ! To this prayer the angels in the heaven say Amen.

Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh

VI-VII. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 726 AND 728, FROM BUDAUN

The two epigraphs of Muḥammad bin Tughluq included in this study are from Budaun (written variously as Budaon, Badaun and Badāyūn), headquarters of the district of same name. The region had come under Muslim occupation very early, and among its first governors were Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish and his son Ruknu'd-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh.[2]

The first of these inscriptions and the sixth of the article appears above the northern entrance of the Jāmi' mosque[3] which was originally constructed by Iltutmish and later on extensively restored in the time of Akbar.[4] It is written in two lines in Arabic on a slab of stone measuring 80 by 45 cm. and assigns the construction of a building, the nature of which is not specified, in 1325-26 A.D. by the order of Abu'l-Mujāhid Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh to Ḥusain, son of Ḥusain, the *koṭwālbek* of Badā'ūn region. It is difficult to determine the nature of the original building which was built by the order of the king. In case it is *in situ*, it would mean that the Jāmi' Masjid had also been repaired and restored in the fourteenth century.

The style of writing is *Naskh* of a fairly good type ; the elongated shafts of the letters are to be noted in particular.

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[1] The reference is to *sadd-i-Sikandar*.

[2] For the history and account of the buildings of the town, see A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XI (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 1-11 ; Nevill, *op. cit.*, vol. XV, Budaun (Allahabad, 1907), pp. 31-62, 183-96. A few works on the history and monuments of the town have been written in Urdu, of which the most comprehensive is M. Raḍīu'd-Dīn's *Kanzu't-Tārīkh* published at Budaun in 1907 A.D.

[3] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 230.

[4] *EIM*, 1911-12, p.22, pl. XXIX ; J. F. Blakiston, *The Jāmī Masjid at Badaun and other buildings in the United Provinces*, Arch. Surv. of Ind. Memoir, No. 19 (Calcutta, 1926) pp. 1-5.

The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate III (a)

(۱) امر بهذه العمارة الحضرة الاعلى ظل الله الرحمن بو المجاهد محمد بن تغلقشاه السلطان

(۲) خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه فی سنة ست و عشرین و سبعمایة معماره حسین بن حسین

کو توالبک بخطه بداون

TRANSLATION

(1) This building was ordered to be constructed by His Most Exalted Majesty, the shadow of the Beneficent Allāh, [A]bu'l-Mujāhid Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, the sulṭān,

(2) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in the year (A.H.) six and twenty and seven hundred (A.H. 726=1325-26 A.D.). Its builder is Ḥusain, son of Ḥusain, *kotwālbek* [1] of Budā'ūn region.

It is difficult to determine the identity of Ḥusain. That he was *kotwālbek* of the Budaon region is recorded nowhere else, and hence the importance of the inscription. No doubt, 'Iṣāmī does mention an officer of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh bearing this name,[2] who later deflected to and received the title of Gurshāsp from 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh in 1347-48 A.D., but whether both are identical, it is difficult to say.

The other inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh from Budaun is engraved on a tablet measuring 73 by 25 cm. which is now fixed into the north wall inside the tomb of Mīrān Mulham Shahīd.[3] It consists of three lines of writing in Arabic executed in relief in fairly elegant *Naskh* characters.

The object of the epigraph is to record the construction of a new building by Muḥammad Sulṭānī, evidently an official, in 1328 A.D. The text does not clarify as to what new building was constructed, nor does the epigraph seem to be *in situ*. Nevertheless, the record is important in that it has preserved the name of an official. Also, the use in the text of the titles professing allegiance to the caliph may be noted.

The text of the epigraph is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate III (b)

(۱) اتفق عمارة جدید فے عهد سلطان اعظم ابو المجاهد فے سبیل الله محمد بن

(۲) تغلقشاه السلطان ناصر امیر المومنین خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و اعلی امره و شانه

(۳) المعمار محمد سلطانی یوم احدی الثامن من ربیع الاخر سنة ثمان عشرین و سبعمایة

[1] Blakiston, *op. cit.*, p. 2, reads *kotwāl* instead of *kotwālbek*. Also, the reading of the epigraph in Raḍīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 42, is incorrect in places.

[2] 'Iṣāmī, *op cit.*, pp. 499-500, 502, 504, 514, 516.

[3] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 250. Its reading published in Raḍīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 51, is not free from mistakes.

(*a*) Inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh, dated A.H. 726, from Budaun (p. 8)

SCALE : ·125

(*b*) Another epigraph of the same monarch, dated A.H. 728, from the same place (p. 8)

SCALE : ·19

(*c*) Inscription of Fīrūz Shāh, dated A.H. 761, from Jajmau (p. 9)

SCALE : ·12

TRANSLATION

(1) The new construction took place during the reign of the great sulṭān, Abu'l-Mujāhid in the path of Allāh, (namely) Muḥammad, son of

(2) Tughluq Shāh, the sulṭān, *nāṣiri amīri'l-mu'minīn* (lit. helper of the leader of the Faithful), may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and elevate his affair and dignity.

(3) The builder is Muḥammad Sulṭānī. On Sunday, eighth of Rabī'u'l-Ākhar, year (A.H.) twentyeight and seven hundred (8th Rabī' II A.H. 728=21st February 1328 A.D.).

We have no definite information about the identity and career of Muḥammad Sulṭānī, the builder. That he was an official of importance is evident from his appellation Sulṭānī. Now one Malik Muḥammad Hirevī was sent by the Sulṭān to Multan to receive Khudāwandzāda and it was there in 1333 A.D. that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had met him.[1]

Fīrūz Shāh

VIII-IX. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 761 AND 762, FROM JAJMAU

Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq is represented by ten inscriptions in the study. The earliest two of them were copied in 1961 from the tomb and the mosque of the saint Makhdūm Shāh at Jajmau.[2] The tablet bearing the earlier of the two, and the eighth record of the article, measures 1·3 m. by 40 cm. and is fixed on the main entrance of the tomb.[3] It contains three lines of Arabic writing, executed in relief in *Naskh* script of a fairly high order, which recalls to mind the calligraphy of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī's inscription from the same place (p. 3 *supra*). The epigraph refers to the foundation of the tomb of Shaikh 'Alāu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Yūsuf by the martyred *ṣadr* Ghiyāthu'l-Ḥaq wa'd- Dīn Muḥammad, son of Yūsuf Shaikhzāda and records 1360 A.D. as the date of its completion by Abu'l-Mubārak Muḥammad.

The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate III (*c*)

(۱) [بنيا]ت هذا العمارة فى عهد السلطان العالم العادل الباذل الواثق بالتائيد الرحمان

ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و هى روضة الشيخ المرحوم المغفور

علاء الحق و الدين يوسف

(۲) بانى هذه الروضة المتبركة الصدر الشهيد غياث الحق و الدين محمد بن يوسف

شيخ زاده المعمار العبد

(۳) الضعيف ابو المبارك محمد اصلح الله شانه الرابع عشر من ربيع الاول سنه احدى

و ستين و سبعماية كاتب ظهير نصير

[1] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The Reḥla*, ed. Dr. A. Mahdī Ḥusain (Baroda, 1953), p. 14.

[2] *ARIE*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 314, 316 ; Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

[3] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 314. The tomb has one more inscription of the time of Maḥmūd Shāh Sharqī of Jaunpur, for which see *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1962, p. 48.

TRANSLATION

(1) This building was constructed in the reign of the learned, just and generous sulṭān, reliant on the support of the Beneficent, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Fīrūz Shāh the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and by that is meant the mausoleum of the departed and pardoned Shaikh 'Alāu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Yūsuf.

(2) And the founder of this blessed mausoleum (was) the martyred *ṣadr* Ghiyāthu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Yūsuf Shaikhzāda (and) the builder is the creature

(3) (who is) humble, Abu'l-Mubārak Muḥammad, may Allāh improve his condition; (it was completed on) the fourteenth of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, year (A.H.) sixtyone and seven hundred (14th Rabī' I A.H. 761=3rd February 1360 A.D.). The writer (is) Ẓahīr, son of Naṣīr.

The inscription under study is interesting from historical point of view. The founder of the tomb Ghiyāthu'd-DīnMuḥammad, the *ṣadr*, is not known from other sources. He is mentioned in the text as the son of Yūsuf Shaikhzāda, by which evidently his father, the saint, was known. From the next inscription dated in the following year and from the Sharqī record referred to above, it is clear that he was the son of the saint 'Alāu'd-Dīn Yūsuf. Our epigraph indicates that the saint was also known as Yūsuf Shaikhzāda though it is equally likely that the appellation Shaikhzāda may have been intended for the son himself after the fashion of the Arab writers. The latter is mentioned in the record as martyr, but no details are available. He appears to have held the office of *ṣadr* as is implied from the text. The founder's son Abu'l-Mubārak Muḥammad who completed the tomb, and also constructed the mosque nearby, as we shall soon see, is likewise not known from any other source.

'Alāu'd-Dīn Yūsuf appears to be a renowned saint whose tomb is even now visited in large numbers by people of all communities coming from distant places, and a *farmān* of Fīrūz Tughluq registering a grant of land to the saint's descendants can still be seen with a leading advocate of Allahabad and Kanpur, Mr. Ḥasīn Aḥmad Fārūqī who is a direct descendant of the saint.[1] This *farmān* may have prompted Mr. Nevill not only to ascribe the Sharqī record to Fīrūz Tughluq's reign, but also to claim that all the three records in the enclosure mention the visit of the Tughluq king to the shrine and his gift of land to the saint's descendant Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad.[2] These statements are incorrect. Again, a local tradition recorded by Nevill making the saint a contemporary of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aibak[3] is also proved baseless by these epigraphs, for the tomb could not have been founded much earlier than the date of the epigraph, as the founder was the son of the saint; in other words, the saint was a contemporary of the Khaljīs at the earliest. It is surprising that no explicit mention of a personage of his stature is found in contemporary or later works including hagiologies. Now Baranī lists one Maulānā 'Alāu'd-Dīn, the *ṣadr-u'sharī'at*, among the learned men of the time of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī.'[4] In view of the title *ṣadr* used in the text of the present record for his son Shaikh Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, it is likely that the saint is identical with him. In any case, the epigraph furnishes information about the saint and his descendants.

The other record from the mausoleum, also dated in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh, is carved on a tablet measuring 70 by 29 cm. which is fixed on the inner side of the northern door of the mosque.[5] It consists of three lines of writing in Arabic, inscribed in relief in *Naskh* style identical with that

[1] Mr. Siddiqi who claims to have examined the *farmān* states that it appears to be genuine.

[2] Nevill, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

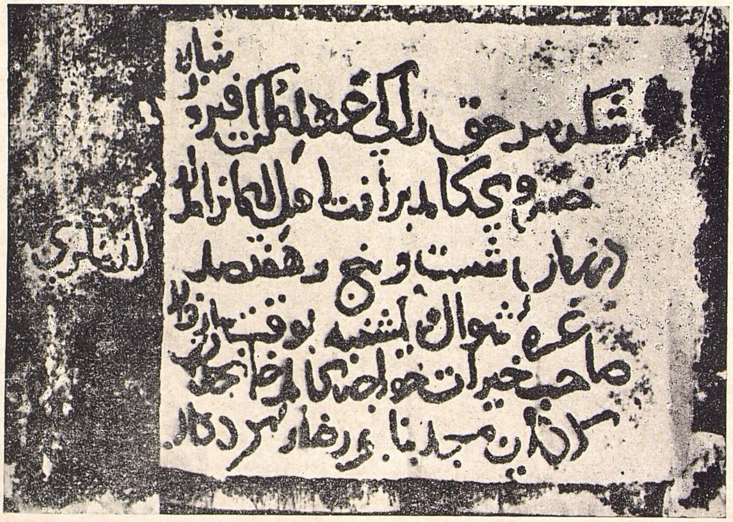
[5] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 316.

PLATE IV

(*a*) Another epigraph of Fīrūz Shāh, dated A.H. 762, from Jajmau (p. 11)

SCALE : ·17

(*b*) Record of the same king, dated A.H. 765, from Jaunpur (p. 12)



SCALE : ·3

(*c*) Inscription of the same monarch, also dated A.H. 765, from Allahabad Museum (p. 11)

SCALE : ·13

of the previous epigraph. It states that a noble edifice, by which evidently the mosque is meant, was constructed by Abu'l-Mubārak, son of the martyred *ṣadr* G͟hiyāt͟hu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Muḥammad and grandson of S͟haik͟h 'Alāu'l-Ḥaq wad'-Din Yūsuf in 1361 A.D., almost a year after the saint's mausoleum was built. It will be observed that here only the *kunya* of the builder is given. His name Muḥammad is not mentioned.

Its text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IV(a)

(١) بنيت هذه العمارة الشريفة فی عهد السلطان العالم العادل الباذل ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان

(٢) خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و بانيها العبد الضعيف ابو المبارك بن الصدر السعيد الشهيد غياث الحق و الدين محمد

(٣) [بن ال]شيخ[1] المغفور علاء الحق و الدين يوسف و ذلك فی التاسع و العشرين من صفر سنه اثنی و ستين و سبعماية

TRANSLATION

(1) This noble building (i.e. mosque) was constructed in the reign of the learned, just and generous sulṭān, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Fīrūz S͟hāh the sulṭān,

(2) may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty! Its founder (is) the week creature Abu'l-Mubārak, son of the fortunate and martyred *ṣadr*, G͟hiyāt͟hu'l-Ḥāq wa'd-Dīn Muḥammad,

(3) [son of] the pardoned S͟haik͟h 'Alāu'l-Ḥaq wa'd-Dīn Yūsuf. And this was on the twenty-ninth of Ṣafar, year (A.H.) sixtytwo and seven hundred (29th Ṣafar A.H. 762=8th January 1361 A.D.).

The persons mentioned above have been already discussed in the preceding lines.

X. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 765, FROM THE ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

The tablet bearing the next inscription measures 1.23 m. by 30 cm. It is now preserved in the Municipal Museum at Allahabad,[2] but its original findspot is not on record. Unlike the previous two records of this monarch, the language of its two-line text is Persian. The style of writing is *Nask͟h*. It states that a mosque was built through the efforts of Bāhadur, a servant of the late Maulānā Sirāju'd-Dīn in 1363 A.D.

The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate IV(c)

(١) بناء اين مسجد در عهد فيرو[ز] شاه سعی بنده ضعيف بهادر بنده مولانا سراج الدين نور الله قبره بتاريخ الرابع عشر

(٢) من صفر ختم الله بالخير و الظفر سنة خمس و ستين و سبعماية

---

[1] The word *bin* seems to have been left out inadvertently by the scribe.

[2] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 183. It was copied in 1959 by Shri I. A. Omeri, Epigraphical Assistant, since transferred to the National Meseum, New Delhi.

TRANSLATION

(1) This mosque was constructed in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh (through) the efforts of the weak creature Bahādur, a servant of Maulānā Sirāju'd-Dīn, may Allāh illuminate his grave, on the fourteenth

(2) of Ṣafar, may Allāh end it with bounty and victory, year (A.H.) sixtyfive and seven hundred (14th Ṣafar A.H. 765=22nd November 1363 A.D.).

About the builder Bahādur or his master Maulānā Sirāju'd-Dīn, we have no information.

XI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 765, FROM JAUNPUR

The eleventh inscription comes from Jaunpur, headquarters of the district of the same name.[1] It is carved on a loose slab measuring 40 by 30 cm. which reported to have been brought from the Jhānjhrī-Masjid to the Atāla-Masjid where it is now kept near the central *miḥrab*.[2] Its text has been previously published.[3] Running into three couplets in Persian inscribed in six lines in *Naskh* style, it refers to the construction of a mosque in 1364 A.D. The way in which the name of the builder is given in the epigraph is somewhat intriguing. The relevant text has: Khwāja Kāmil-i-Khān-i-Jahān, which may be taken to indicate either Khwāja Kāmil, son of Khān-i-Jahān, or Khwāja Kāmil entitled Khān-i-Jahān or the perfect Khwāja Khān-i-Jahān. Khān-i-Jahān was the title of Maqbūl, the eminent nobleman and minister who had served both Muḥammad bin Tughluq and Fīrūz Tughluq. On his death in 1370 A.D., the title Khān-i-Jahān and the ministership were conferred on his son Jūnān Shāh.[4] Since Maqbūl held the title Khān-i-Jahān at the time of our record, the second alternative of 'Kāmil entitled Khān-i-Jahān' is out of question. Therefore, either the term Kāmil is used as an adjective, in which case the builder would be Khān-i-Jahān, the perfect Khwāja, or Khwāja Kāmil-i-Khān-i-Jahān has *iḍāfat-i-ibnī* in which case Khwāja Kāmil would be a son of the minister. We prefer to take the latter meaning. In either case, the importance of the record cannot be under-rated. It is likely that Khwāja Kāmil, whom historical works completely ignore, was connected with Jaunpur in official capacity. It may be remembered that Khān-i-Jahān was not directly connected with Jaunpur and also that according to Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, he had a number of sons.[5]

The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate IV (b)

(۱) شکر مر حق را که عهد ملکت فیروز شاه

(۲) خسروی کامد برافت اهل ایمانرا مدار

---

[1] For the history and monumental remains and inscriptions of Jaunpur, see A. Führer, *The Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpur* (Calcutta, 1889), pp. 4-58; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (*JRA*), vol. XVI (1905), pp. 131-42; Muḥammad Faṣīḥu' d-Dīn, *The Sharqī Monuments of Jaunpur* (Allahabad, 1922); Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, vol. II (Bombay, 1942), pp. 43-47. As in the case of Budaun, a few books on the city, which is termed Shīrāz of India, have appeared in Urdu, the most comprehensive being Iqbāl Aḥmad's voluminous *Tārīkh-i-Shīrāz-i-Hind, Jaunpur*, published at Jaunpur in 1963.

[2] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 202. This epigraph was also copied by Shri I. A. Omeri.

[3] Führer, *op. cit.*, p. 38; *JRA*, 1905, p. 138. Their readings are not free from mistakes.

[4] Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 425- 427.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 399.

(۳) در زمان شست و پنج و هفتصد ار بنگری

(۴) غره شوال یکشنبه بوقت سازوار

(۵) صاحب خیرات خواجه کامل خانجهان

(۶) کرد این مسجد بنا بهر رضاء کردگار

TRANSLATION

(1) Thanks to God that in the reign of the sovereignty of Fīrūz Shāh,

(2) a king who, on account of his kindness, is the mainstay of the men of Faith,

(3) in the year (lit. time) sixtyfive and seven hundred, if you look well,

(4) (on the) first day of Shawwāl, Sunday, at an agreeable time (1st Shawwāl A.H. 765=2nd July 1364 A.D.),

(5) the master of charity, Khwāja Kāmil (son of) Khān-i-Jahān

(6) constructed this mosque for the pleasure of the Creator.

XII-XIII. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 777, FROM VARANASI

These two inscriptions are from Varanasi (Banaras), headquarters of the district of the same name. Among the architectural remains of early as well as later Muslim period found in the city and its vicinity, is the tomb of Sayyid Fakhru'd-Dīn Shahīd in the locality called Bakaryā-Kund.[1] The present inscriptions, which are identical in purport, constitute the earliest Muslim records found so far in the city.

One of these is carved on a stone roof-beam in the mosque of the above tomb[2] and occupies a writing space of 1.08 m. by 30 cm. The letters are slightly affected due to wear and tear of time. The record contains five lines of text in Persian which are inscribed in relief in *Naskh* script of a good stylistic type. It assigns the construction of the mosque, domed porch, inner apartment, steps of the water-tank and compound wall of the mausoleum of Sayyid Fakhru' d-Dīn Shahīd 'Alawī to one Ḍiyā (son of) Aḥmad in 1375 A.D. Whatever origin the building materials used in the building might indicate, there is nothing in the texts of this as as well as the next inscription, as the texts quoted below will show, to afford a 'fresh example of the policy of the Muslim rulers of the period of appropriating Hindu temples for which Varanasi offered an unusually ample field'.[3] Such a careless statement coming from so reputed a scholar as A. Führer is highly regrettable.

TEXT

Plate V (c)

(۱) [بسم ا]لله [الرحم]ن الرحیم

(۲) از عون و عنایت ربانی و تائید فضل یزدانی مسجد و گنبد دهلیز و حجره و نردبان حوض و محوطه مقام متبرکه سید فخر الدین شهید علوی

[1] For a detailed description of the building, see Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (*MANWP*) (Allahabad, 1891), pp. 200-01.

[2] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 189, where Rabī' II is a misprint for Rabī' I.

[3] Führer, *MANWP*, p.201.

(۳) طاب الله ثراه و جعل الجنة مثواه بعهد سلطان الاعظم الواثق بتائید الرحمان ابو المظفر فیروز شاه سلطان خلد الله ملکه

(۴) عمارت بندۂ مسکین ضیاء احمد است حق تعالی بندۂ مسکین خود را عاقبت بخیر گرداند بحق محمد و آله اجمعین

(۵) فے الغره من شهر ربیع الاول سنة سبع و سبعین و سبعمایة

TRANSLATION

(1) [In the name of] Allāh the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Through the help and grace of the Nourisher and the support of Divine bounty, the mosque, dome of the entrance, *ḥujra* (i.e. inner apartment), stairs of the tank and the encircling wall of the blessed tomb of Sayyid Fakhru'd-Dīn Shahīd 'Alawī,

(3-4) may Allāh purify his grave and assign him place in Paradise, were constructed by the humble slave Ḍiyā, son of Aḥmad, in the reign of the great sulṭān, reliant on the support of the Beneficent, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Fīrūz Shāh the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom! May God the Exalted render happy the end of His humble creature for the sake of Muḥammad (the Prophet) and his progeny!

(5) On the first of the month of Rabī'u'l-Awwal year (A.H.) seventyseven and seven hundred (1st Rabī' I A.H. 777=31st July 1375 A.D.).

The other record is engraved on a tablet measuring 52 by 38 cm. which is fixed in the outer wall of the enclosure of the above tomb.[1] Of its five lines, the first is in Arabic and the rest contain two Persian verses. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a pleasing type. The record refers to the construction of the domed entrance of the tomb of the Sayyid, by Ḍiyāu'd-Duwal, evidently the same Ḍiyā of the previous record, in the same year, i.e. 1375 A.D.

The text of this epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate V (a)

(۱) هو العلام

(۲) بناء گنبد دهلیز روضه سید

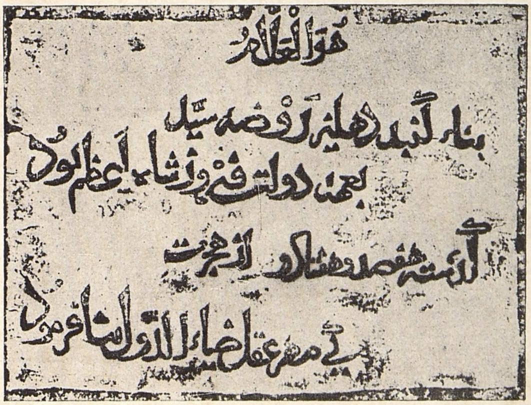
(۳) بعهد دولت فیروز شاه اعظم بود

(۴) گذشته هفصد و هفتاد و [هفت] از هجرت

(۵) کے مهر عقل ضیا الدول بنا فرمود

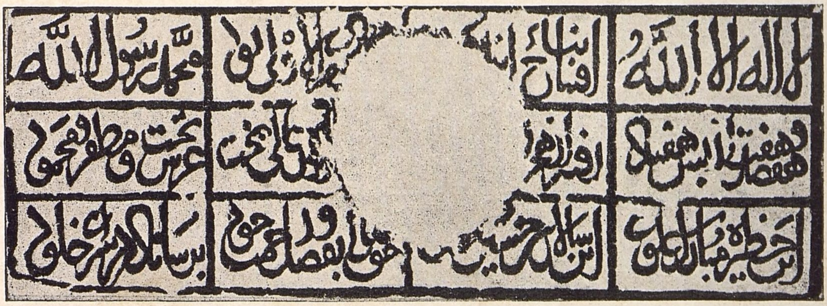
[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 190. Both these epigraphs were copied by Shri I. A. Omeri.

(*a*) Inscription of Fīrūz Shāh, dated A.H. 777, from Varanasi (p. 14)



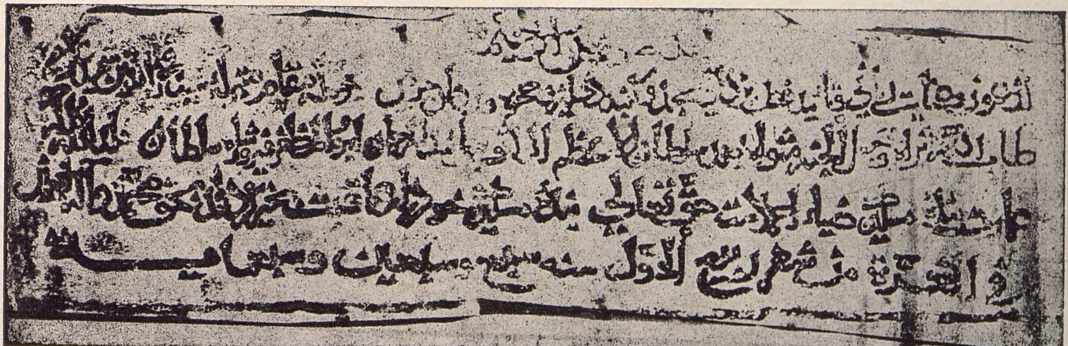
SCALE : ·17

(*b*) Inscription of the same king, dated A.H. 777, from Sambhalhera (p. 16)



SCALE : ·19

(*c*) Another record fo Fīrūz Shāh, dated A.H. 777, from Varanasi (p. 13)



SCALE : ·17

TRANSLATION

(1) He is Omnicient !

(2) The construction of the dome of the porch of the tomb of the Sayyid was (i.e. took place)

(3) in the auspicious reign of the great Fīrūz Shāh.

(4) Seven hundred and seventyseven (years) had passed since the Migration (of the Prophet),

(5) when the sun of Reason, (namely) Ḍiyāu'd-Duwal constructed it (A.H. 777=1375 A.D.).

Nothing is known regarding the saint Sayyid Fakhru'd-Dīn Shahīd 'Alawī, who is mentioned as a martyr, and that is rather surprising. Likewise, no information is traceable from available historical works about Ḍiyā, son of Aḥmad. But it is almost certain that he was an official of importance, perhaps in charge of the city or district of Varanasi at the time, as is indicated by his title-name Ḍiyāu'd-Duwal given in the second record, where, it is also interesting to note, he is spoken of as the 'sun of Reason'. It is difficult to say if he has anything to do with Malik Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn, entitled Ḍiyāu'l-Mulk, *mustauf-i-mamālik* and poet of the time of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq.[1]

XIV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 777, FROM SAMBHALHERA

The next record of this group was copied from Sambhalhera in Muzaffarnagar district by Shri A. A. Kadiri. Now a decayed small village, Sambhalhera was, during the Mughal period, one of the principal seats of the famous Sayyid families of Bāriha.[2]

This valuable record was forwarded by Mr. A. C. Cadell the then Civil Surgeon of the District to Mr. H. Blochmann, who published it along with a brief note.[3] Blochmann, however, was not able to decipher the text satisfactorily. The most serious omission in his reading was his inability to read the deceased's name.

The loose inscriptional slab, now kept in the Riyāsat-kī-Masjid of the village, is said to have originally belonged to a tomb, whose occupant is locally known as Mas'ūd.[4] It measures 75 by 24 cm. and is badly damaged : a big circular cavity has appeared in the middle, consequent upon its being used as mortar for pounding grain. As a result, a few words in the first and second lines are lost.[5]

The text runs into three lines inscribed in four vertical panels. It consists of a fragment of four Persian couplets preceded by the First Creed executed in relief in *Naskh* style of a high order, reminiscent of the style of the contemporary epigraphs of Bihar. It records 1375 A.D. as the date of the construction of the mausoleum. The portion of the text comprising the last word of the first couplet in the third line, which contains the name of the occupant of the tomb,

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[1] Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, *op. cit.*, pp. 464-66, 475-76, 480-81, 484.

[2] According to H. Blochmann, who published its reading in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (*PASB*), 1872, p. 166, the ascertained date of the Sayyid settlement could be taken back as early as, if not earlier than, the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq. This conclusion, evidently drawn from the epigraph under study is unwarranted, since the epigraph does not make any mention of the Bāriha Sayyids.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 165-66.

[4] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 311 ; Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

[5] The missing words have been supplied in brackets from Blochmann's reading except مسعود instead of فرمود in line 3.

is damaged, and hence the name is lost. But it appears to have been Mas'ūd. He was, according to the remaining text, son of Sālār and grandson of Ḥusain 'Alawī.[1] Its text is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate V (b)

(۱) لا اله الا الله   محمد رسول الله

افتتاح بناء این روضه   [بیست س]وم جماد الاولی بود

(۲) هفصد و هفت از پس هفتاد   رفته از هجرت [رسول ودود]

[عهد فی]روز شاه عالی بخت   عرش تخت و مظفر و محمود

(۳) این حظیره مبارک علوی   ابن سالار بن حسین [مسعود]

حق تعالی بفضل و رحمت خود   برساناد در سرای خلود

TRANSLATION

(1) There is no god but Allāh. Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allāh.

The costruction of [this tomb] commenced on the [twentythird] of Jumāda'l-Ūlā

(2) (after) seven hundred and seventyseven (years) had passed from Migration [of the beloved Prophet] (23rd Jumādā I A.H. 777=20th October 1375 A.D.),

[in the reign of] Fīrūz Shāh of high fortune, (whose) throne is sky (and who is) victorious and praiseworthy.

(3) This auspicious mausoleum belongs to [Mas'ūd], son of Sālār, son of Ḥusain 'Alawī.[1]

May the Exalted God, through the bounty of His Mercy, take him to the enternal abode (i.e. Paradise) !

About Mas'ūd, we have no authentic information, but according to Mr. Cadell, his father Sālār 'Alawī is identical with a saint Sālār Auliyā who is mentioned in the genealogical tables of the Chaudharī clan of the village.[2] 'Iṣāmī does mention one Mas'ūd who probably held the post of '*Āriḍ* in the closing years of the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh.[3] But whether he has anything to do with Mas'ūd of our record cannot be ascertained.

XV-XVI. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 784, FROM BANGARMAU

The next two eipgraphs of Fīrūz Shāh are from Bangarmau, an ancient place which is now reduced to a small town in the Safipur *tahsil* of Unnao district. Tradition assigns the foundation of the town to a saint 'Alāu'd-Dīn by name, whose tomb is situated in the heart of the town and goes under the name of Baṛī-Dargāh.[4] Nearby is another octagonal tomb, locally called Chhoṭī-

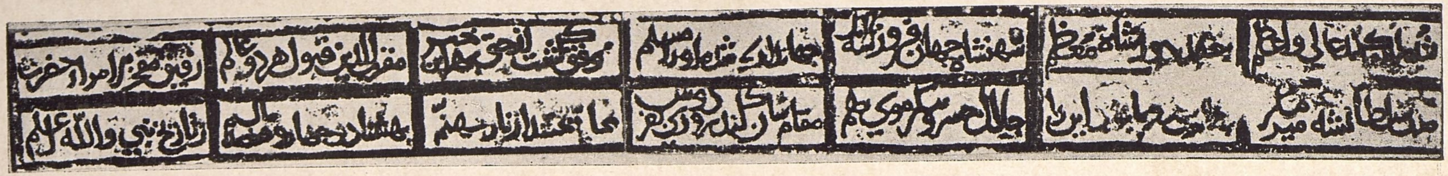
[1] The term '*Alawī* can also be taken to qualify the tomb.

[2] Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

[3] 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

[4] *IG*, vol. VI, p. 380 ; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, vol. XI, p. 49. The tomb bears two inscriptions, one of which, dated A.H. 702 (1302 A.D.), was published in *EIM*, 1917-18, p. 18, pl. IVb. But there the saint's name is wrongly read as Jalālu'd-Dīn, son of 'Āim instead of 'Alāu'd-Dīn, son of Ghanāim. Also see *ARIE*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 321-322.

(*a*) Epigraph of Fīrūz Shāh, dated A.H. 784, from Bangarmau (p. 17)



SCALE : ·1

(*b*) Another record of the same monarch, dated A.H. 784, from the same place (p. 18)

SCALE : ·04

(*c*) Inscription of Muḥammad Shāh Tughluq, dated A.H. 792, from Budaun (p. 20)

SCALE : ·2

(*d*) Record of Fīrūz Shāh, dated A.H. 786 from Koh Inam (p. 19)

SCALE : ·09

Dargāh, now in ruins, which contains in all three epigraphs, of which two are studied here.[1] One of these does not mention the reigning king, but it is evident from the purport that it was set up at the same time.

The large slab measuring 2·27 m. by 20 cm. is damaged and the letters, particularly in the right side, have somewhat flaked off. Fixed on the entrance of the Dargāh,[2] it contains a record of seven Persian verses, inscribed in relief in two lines in the usual *Nas<u>kh</u>* script. The epigraph has sufficient historical value. It records the construction of the tomb by Muqarrabu'd-Dīn, who is reported to be a companion of Maf<u>kh</u>aru'l-Umarā Malik Sulṭān<u>sh</u>ah, in 1383 A.D. under the supervision of Jalāl, son of <u>Kh</u>usraw of Bangarmau. This Muqarrabu'd-Dīn and his senior companion Malik Sulṭān<u>sh</u>ah were famous nobles, who figured prominently about a decade later in the political conflict at Delhi under the later Tu<u>gh</u>luqs.[3] Malik Sulṭān<u>sh</u>ah had received the *iqṭā'* of Samana in 1388 A.D., but had hardly held it for a year when he was killed by rebel nobles in 1389 A.D.

The text of this epigraph reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VI(a)

(۱) شده این گنبد عالی و اعظم　　بعهد دولت شاه معظم

شهنشاه جهان فیروز شه انکه　　جهاندارے شده او را مسلّم

موفق گشت از حق بهر این خیر　　مقرب الدین قبول هر دو عالم

رفیق مفخر الامراء حضرت　　(۲) ملک سلطانشه میر مکرم

..........کار فرما بود این را　　جلال خسرو بنگرموی هم

مقام شان کند روزی بفردوس　　نجا[تی] بخشد از نار جهنم

بهشتاد و چهار و هفصدم سال　　ز تاریخ نبی و الله اعلم

TRANSLATION

(1) This great and lofty tomb was constructed in the auspicious reign of the magnificent king, emperor of the world, Fīrūz <u>Sh</u>āh, who has mastered kingship.

Muqarrabu'd-Dīn, respected in both the worlds, received divine guidance for carrying out this charitable work.

(He) is a companion of Maf<u>kh</u>aru'l-Umarā of the court, Malik Sulṭān<u>sh</u>ah, the respected chief.

.........Jalāl, (son of) <u>Kh</u>usraw Bangarmawī (i.e. of Bangarmau) was made the supervisor for this (building).

May Allāh grant them place in paradise and spare them the fire of hell !

---

[1] The third inscription is in Arabic verse. It is composed by Majd, son of Ṣūfī and records 5th Muḥarram A.H. 782 (11th April 1380 A.D.) as the date of the death of the saint 'Azīzu'l-Ḥaq (*ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 323).

[2] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 324. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, who notices all the three epigraphs, gives an incomplete and incorrect transliteration of the record under study.

[3] Yaḥyā, *op. cit.*, pp. 140, 142, 145, 189, 190, 195, 199, 208-09.

It was in the seven hundred and eightyfourth year from the date of the Prophet (A.H. 784=1383 A.D.). And Allāh knows the truth!

The fact that Malik Sulṭānshah held the title of Mafkharu'l-Umarā and Muqarrabu'd-Dīn was his companion is nowhere recorded, and thus our record is the only source for this information. Likewise, Jalāl, son of Khusraw of Bangarmau, under whose supervision the tomb was built, does not find any mention in contemporary or later works. Jalāl appears to have been associated with local administration.

The tablet bearing the other inscription from the Chhoṭī-Dargāh measures 2.27 m. by 20 cm. and is fixed on the inner side of the southern entrance.[1] It comprises two verses in Persian arranged in two lines and executed in relief in *Naskh* style of the same type. It is, in a way, in continuation of the previous epigraph in that it gives the day and the month of the year of the construction of the same tomb.

It has been read as under:—

TEXT

Plate VI(b)

(۱) بعد جمعه هفدهم از ماه ذی القعده بدست

کا ینچنین گنبد بنا اینجا ز فضل حق شدست

(۲) هفصد و هشتاد و چهارم سال از هجر رسول

اینست تاریخ بنا تحقیق دیگر بیهدست

TRANSLATION

(1) It was after Friday prayers on the seventeenth of the month of Dhi'l-Qa'da, when such a (lofty) dome was built here through the grace of God.

(2) Seven hundred and eightyfour years from the Migration of Prophet (17th Dhi'l-Qa'da A.H. 784=22nd January 1383 A.D.) is the correct date of the construction; the rest (i.e. any other date) is false.

XVII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 786, FROM KOH INAM

The last record of Fīrūz Shāh and the seventeenth of this group is from Koh Inam, a very small and decayed village in the Sirathu *tahsil* of Allahabad district. Situated as it is on the old road from Kara to Delhi via Kannauj, its claim to antiquity is supported by the remains of old buildings and maunds extending over a considerable area. The village was razed to the ground in 1858 A.D. during the people's revolt against the British rule.[2]

The present epigraph may be seen to the right of the main entrance of the Jāmi' mosque which has been thoroughly renovated during recent years.[3] Inscribed over an area of 80 by 55 cm., its text of four lines is in Persian verse of mediocre quality, is executed in relief in fair *Naskh* letters, and runs to the effect that the Jāmi' mosque was built at the instance of Qāḍī Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Ḥasan, the *ṣadr*, in 1384 A.D.

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[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 325.

[2] Major H. S. Jarett published its text in *PASB*, 1880, p. 72, without illustration. His reading is correct.

[3] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 297. There are two more inscriptions on the same mosque, but they contain only religious text.

It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VI(d)

(۱) بنا شد مسجد جامع منور بعهد شاه عادل هفت ک[شور]

(۲) شه فیروز شاهنشاه غازے بفرمایش بناء خیر قاضی

(۳) حسام الدین حسن صدر زمانه که فضلش گشت درر (sic.) عالم نشانه

(۴) بسلخ ماه رمضان گشت موجود ز هجرت هفصد هشتاد شش بود

TRANSLATION

(1) The glorious Jāmi‘ mosque was built in the reign of the just king of the seven [climes],

(2) king Fīrūz, the emperor (who is also) the champion of Faith, (and) the suggestion for the construction of the charitable edifice was made by Qāḍī

(3) Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Ḥasan, the *ṣadr* of the age, whose bounty became conspicuous in the world.

(4) It came into existence on the last day of the month of Ramaḍān (when) seven hundred (and) eightysix (years) had passed from the Migration (30th Ramaḍān, A.H. 786=15th November 1384 A.D.).

Qāḍī Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Ḥasan is an obscure figure in history. It is only from this epigraph that even his name is known. From the appellation *ṣadr* suffixed to his name, it is clear that he had held that post at least at the time of the epigraph.

Muhammad Shāh

XVIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 792, FROM BUDAUN

The eighteenth and the last inscription to be studied here represents the only record in the present article of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Muḥammad, son of Fīrūz S͟hāh, and also his only epigraph so far found in Uttar Pradesh. Hence its importance. It is engraved in relief on a slab of stone measuring 73 by 25 cm. which is fixed over the inner side of the western gate of the porch opening into the Dargāh of Ḥaḍrat Badru'd-Dīn S͟hāh Wilāyat at Budaun.[1] Its reading was published by Raḍīu'd-Dīn, but it is faulty.[2]

This valuable record states that the tomb of the saint Ḥaḍrat Badru'd-Dīn was constructed in 1390 A.D. by K͟hiḍr, son of Naṣru'llāh, who was the *kotwāl* of the district (*k͟hiṭṭa*) of Budā'ūn. It is composed in Persian and inscribed in three lines. The style of writing is conventional *Nask͟h* of a very high order and is of practically the same type as is found in the Tug͟hluq inscriptions of Bihar. Admittedly, its calligraphy is the most elegant and beautiful in the present lot of epigraphs.

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[1] *ARIE*, 1960-61, No. D, 224, where its correct purport was given for the first time. It was copied by Dr. Z. A. Desai, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur. For other inscriptions on the Dargāh, see *ibid.*, Nos. D, 225-29.

[2] Raḍīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

The text reads as under:—

TEXT

Plate VI(c)

(۱) عمارت گنبد عهد سلطان الزمان ناصر الدنیا والدین محمد شاه فیروز شاه السلطان

(۲) خلد ملکه بانی بنا روضه مشایخ الکبار بدر الملة و الدین طاب ثراه راجی حضرت اله

(۳) خضر بن نصر الله کو توال خطه بداون جازاه الله فی الثانی من ذی الحجة سنة اثنی

و تسعین و سبعمایة

TRANSLATION

(1) The building of the tomb (took place in) the reign of the sulṭān of the age, Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh (son of) Fīrūz Shāh, the sulṭān,

(2) may (Allāh) perpetuate his kingdom! The founder of the edifice of the mausoleum of the great Shaikh Badru'l-Millat wa'd-Dīn, may (Allāh) sanctify his grave, (is) the hopeful of the presence of God,

(3) Khiḍr, son of Naṣru'llāh, *kotwāl* of the district (*khiṭṭa*) of Budā'ūn, may God reward him! On the second of the month of Dhi'l-Ḥijja, year (A. H.) ninety-two and seven hundred (2nd Dhi'l-Ḥijja A. H. 792=11th November 1390 A. D.).

Nothing is known about the builder Khiḍr. As regards his father, Naṣru'llāh, Shams Sirāj 'Afīf mentions one Qāḍī Naṣru'llāh who was *qāḍī* of the army of Fīrūz Shāh in A. H. 777 (1375-76 A. D.).[1] Then we know of Naṣru'llāh, brother of the famous 'Ainu'l-Mulk Multānī, governor of Oudh under Muḥammad bin Tughluq, who had unsuccessfully revolted against the latter.[2] Whether any or both of these two personages have anything to do with the father of the builder of the tomb, it is difficult to find out. Historical works are silent on these points. Therefore, too, the information supplied by the record under study that Khiḍr had constructed the tomb of the saint, whose spiritual follower he may have been, is known for the first time from the present epigraph; this information, though meagre, is valuable for the history of Budaun.

As regards the saint, Badru'd-Dīn Shāh Wilāyat, he lived some time during the second half of the thirteenth century A.D. His full name was Shaikh Abū Bakr Mu'itāb. The famous divine, Shaikh Naṣīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, is reported to have met and held him in high regard.[3] The exact date of his death is not known. The title *Ṣāḥib-i-Wilāyat* is used by Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq of Delhi, who places his tomb behind the Shamsī-*Īdgāh*.[4]

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[1] Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, *op. cit.*, pp. 378-79.

[2] 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

[3] Khalīq Aḥmad Niẓāmi, ed. *Khairu'l-Majālis* (Aligarh, 1959), p. 210. A modern writer, Raḍīu'd-Dīn, *Tadhkiratu'l-Wāṣilīn* (Budaun, 1945), pp. 32-36, gives some details of his life.

[4] 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq, *Akhbāru'l-Akhyār* (Delhi, A. H. 1332), p. 49; Raḍīu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BAHMANIS OF DECCAN

By A. A. Kadiri

So far, about thirty Bahamnī inscriptions have been published in the earlier issues of this series. I propose to study here seventeen more epigraphs which have been found in recent years. These range in their dates from A. H. 760 (1358-59 A. D.) to A. H. 917 (1511-12 A. D.) and represent the reigns of six kings, viz. Muḥammad Shāh I, Muḥammad Shāh II, Fīrūz Shāh, Aḥmad Shāh II, Humāyūn Shāh and Maḥmūd Shāh.[1]

Muḥammad Shāh I

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 760, FROM DAULATABAD

This inscription constitutes the earliest record of Muḥammad Shāh I[2] and is quite interesting. It is carved on a huge slab measuring 2·68 m. by 57 cm., which is fixed on the central *miḥrāb* of the 'Īdgāh at Daulatabad, in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra.[3] Its text consists of nine Persian couplets inscribed in relief in three lines in *Naskh* characters, typical of the mural records of the early Bahmanīs. The writing is slightly damaged, rendering its decipherment somewhat difficult. It mentions that the *namāzgāh* (i.e. 'Īdgāh) was constructed during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh by Ulugh Qutlugh Bahrām Khān in 1359 A.D.

The builder Bahrām Khān was a grandee of considerable importance. On the accession of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, one Bahrām was made *vakīl-i-dar*, while another, *nāib-i-'āriḍ* of the royal army.[4] Bahrām of our inscription perhaps is identical with the latter. Firishta calls him Bahrām Khān Māzandarānī and refers to his having received charge of Daulatabad fort from Bahman Shāh in about 1348 A. D.[5] According to Ṭabāṭabā, who also refers to his appointment to the charge of the Daulatabad fort a few months before the death of Bahman Shāh, he was the king's sister's son.[6] Again, according to Firishta, Bahrām Khān was only in charge of the fort, while the province of Daulatabad was given by Bahman Shāh to his own nephew, i.e. brother's son Khān Muḥammad[7] who continued in the governorship even after Bahrām Khān had revolted against the king. As against this, Sir T.W. Haig asserts that when Bahman Shāh divided his kingdom into four provinces, the king's nephew Muḥammad entitled Bahrām Khān was appointed governor of the province of Daulatabad and that Bahrām Khān was a son-in-law of Bahman Shāh.[8] Haig seems to have mixed up the accounts of Firishta and Ṭabāṭabā. The account of Firishta, in view of its details, etc., seems to be more correct.

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[1] These epigraphs, except otherwise stated, were copied by Dr. Z. A. Desai, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.

[2] Of his two inscriptions, so far published, the one from Gulbarga is dated A. H. 769 (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1907-08, pp. 1-2), while the Bhingar inscription contains his name but was set up after the accepted date of his death *ibid.* 1933-34, Supplement, p. 4, pl. Ia.)

[3] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1958-59, No. D, 44.

[4] 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* (Agra, 1938), pp. 526-27.

[5] Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, vol. I (Kanpur, 1884), p. 277.

[6] Ṭabāṭabā, *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* (Delhi, 1936), p. 29. Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 293, does not mention the kinship, though he states that Bahrām Khān was like a son to the king.

[7] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

[8] T. W. Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 181, 375.

Anyway, Bahrām Khān unsuccessfully revolted against Muḥammad Shāh in about 1365 A. D. when the latter was preoccupied with Vijayanagara, but did not meet with any success and had to quit the kingdom. Details of this revolt, gleaned from original sources, have been given by Professor Sherwānī in his book.[1] However, the motive for the rebellion attributed by Ṭabāṭabā, namely that the receipt of the charge of Daulatabad where Bahman Shāh had ascended the throne made Bahrām Khān entertain the vain idea that he was intended to be the successor to the kingdom, has not been discussed by Professor Sherwānī.[2] In any case, Bahrām Khān did not entertain any such idea until A. H. 760, the date of our record.

The text of the epigraph has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate VII(b)

(۱) نمازگاه همایون ز عون و فضل اله   بشکل طرفه در آمد بعهد ظل الله
مدار دنیا سلطان مشرق و مغرب   جهان کشاء محمد شه ابن شاهنشاه
بنا نهاد الغ قتلغ زمان و زمین   یل معظم بهرامخان ستاره سپاه
(۲) بماه فرخ شوال و سال هفصد و شست   چه مه که سال دگر آورد چهارم ماه
چو در عمارت مسجد حدیث هست صحیح   ز قول مخبر صادق شفیع اهل گناه
که بانیش را قصری دهند در جنت   کمر ببند ندارند غیر اهل کلاه
(۳) همیشه باد مبارک بشاه و خان جهان   عمارتش که ز رشک ویست چرخ دوتاه
بحق بیت مقدس بحرمت کعبه   کنی زیاده باعزاز بانیش هرگاه
بدان عدد که کند خلق سجدها بدوعید   هزار چندان عمرش مزید باد بجاه

TRANSLATION

(1) (This) auspicious *namāzgāh*, through the help and bounty of Allāh, was constructed in a wonderful style, in the reign of the shadow of Allāh,

the pivot of the world, ruler of the east and the west, world-conqueror, Muḥammad Shāh, son of the (late) emperor ;

it was built by Ulugh Qutlugh (lit. powerful and great warrior) of the time and place, magnificent hero Bahrām Khān with star-like army,

(2) in the auspicious month of Shawwāl and the year (A.H.) seven hundred and sixty. What a month that it will bring another year within the next four months ! (Shawwāl A. H. 760= August-September 1359 A. D.).

Since about the construction of a mosque, there is an authentic tradition representing the saying of the Bringer of sure news and the Intercessor of the sinful (i.e. Prophet Muḥammad),

to the effect that, the builder of a mosque will be favoured with a palace in Paradise (and) none except young servants wearing caps will wait upon him (in Paradise),

[1] H. K. Sherwānī, *The Bahmanīs of the Deccan* (Hyderabad, 1953), pp. 97-98.

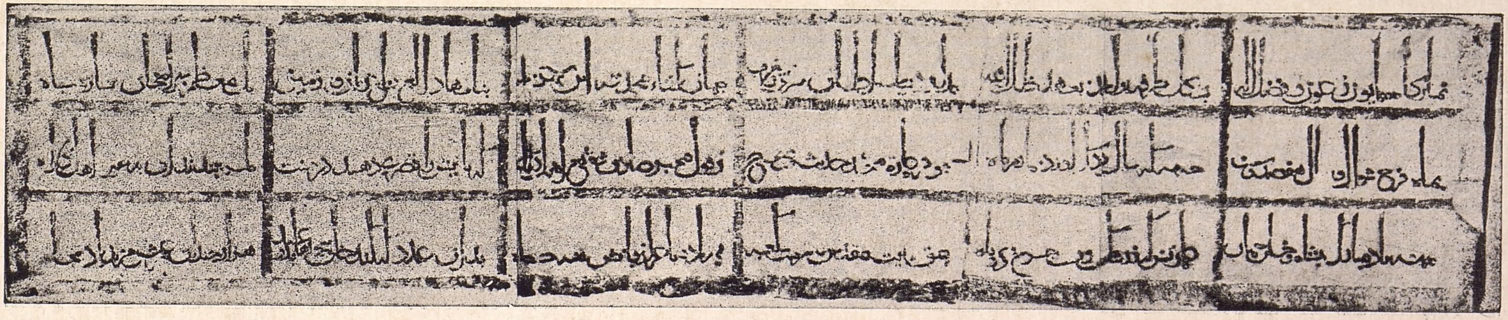
[2] Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

BAHMANIS OF DECCAN

(*a*) Epigraph of Muḥammad Shāh I Bahmanī, dated A.H. 772, from Khuldabad (p. 25)

SCALE : ·122

(*b*) Inscription of the same monarch, dated A.H. 760, from Daulatabad (p. 22)



SCALE : ·083

(3) may its building (i.e. of the *namāzgāh*), from envy of which the sky is doubled up, always prove auspicious to the king and K͟hān of the world!

For the sake of the holy house (at Jerusalem) and by the reverence of Ka'ba (at Mecca), (may God) increase the honour of the builder every moment!

May he live in ever-increasing dignity thousand times the number of prostrations which people offer (here) on the occasion of the two 'Īds!

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 768, FROM GULBARGA

The slab containing this inscription is fixed on the outer northern wall of a well near the tomb of K͟hwāja S͟haik͟h Muḥammad Sirāju'd-Dīn Junaidī, at Gulbarga in Mysore state.[1] It is slightly damaged, with the result that the writing thereon which was in low relief has been further obliterated particularly in the portion above the middle of the right half of the slab. Measuring 43 by 32 cm., it contains nine verses in Persian, inscribed in an equal number of lines in relief in *Nask͟h* characters recording the construction of the well by the *amīr* of Turks, Abū Muḥammad Tabrīzī, under the supervision of K͟hwāja Kabīr, a descendant of Muḥammad K͟halk͟hālī in 1367 A. D., during the reign of Muḥammad S͟hāh, son of Bahman S͟hāh.

Nothing is known about the builder and the supervisor beyond what is stated in our epigraph. It is very likely that these men were, if nothing more, at least men of local importance.

The text has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate VIII(a)

(۱) بعهد دولت میمون بادشاه جهان   جهان پناه و جهان بخش داور دوران

(۲) شه زمانه محمد شه بن بهمن شاه   که هست مهر جهان تاب و سایهٔ یزدان

(۳) بوقت و ساعت میمون بنا شد این بائین   امیر ترکان بانی [این] خجسته مکان

(۴) ستوده مفخر عالم (؟) ابو محمد انکه   حسن (؟) نسب شد و تبریزی آمدست نشان

(۵) بے حظیرهٔ[2] ....   مثال نور بروحش امید باد روان

(۶) کسے که آب خورد یا وضو ازان بکند (؟)   بفاتحه بکند یاد بانی از دل و جان

(۷) هر آنکه پاک کند یا مرمتش آرد   نگاه دارش بادا خدای جاویدان

(۸) بکار فرمائے نصب گشت خواجه کبیر   که از محمد خلخالی اوست در گیهان

(۹) بسال هفصد و شست و فزوده بروی هشت   نموده روی دهم روز از مه شعبان

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[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 109.

[2] The obliterated text appears to read something like: شیخ زمان جنید زمین. Any way, the idea seems to be that the well was constructed for the benefit of the visitors or the inmates of the tomb.

TRANSLATION

(1) In the auspicious reign of the king of the world, asylum as well as distributor of the world, dispenser of justice of the age,

(2) king of the time, Muḥammad S͟hāh, son of Bahman S͟hāh, who is a world-illuminating sun and shadow of God,

(3) at an auspicious time and moment, this well was constructed ; the builder of (this) blessed place is the *amīr* of Turks,

(4) praiseworthy (and) pride of the world, Abū Muḥammad, who is of a noble descent and known as Tabrīzī,

(5) for the sake of the tomb [of the saint ....][1] may hope travel (like) light towards his soul !

(6) Whosoever drinks water or performs ablutions therefrom, should remember the builder by reciting *fātiḥa* with his heart and soul.

(7) May the eternal Lord protect the person who gets it cleaned and repaired !

(8) K͟hwāja Kabīr, who is the descendant, in the world, of Muḥammad K͟halk͟hālī, was appointed to supervise (the construction).

(9) (It was constructed) in the year (A. H.) seven hundred and sixty to which were added eight and on the 10th of the month of S͟ha'bān (10th S͟ha'bān A. H. 768=11th April 1367 A.D.).

III. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 772, FROM KHULDABAD

The loose tablet bearing the third inscription of Muḥammad S͟hāh I is lying in the *dargāh* of Ḥaḍrat Burhānu'd-Dīn, at Khuldabad in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra.[2] Measuring 82 by 71 cm., it is inscribed with seven lines of writing in Persian verse in *Nask͟h* characters. The record refers itself to the reign of Muḥammad S͟hāh I and assigns the construction of a well to K͟hān-i-A'ẓam afdar K͟hān in 1370-71 A.D.

K͟hān-i-A'ẓam Ṣafdar K͟hān appears to be none other than the great Ṣafdar K͟hān Sīstānī, a distinguished noble who served under five Bahmanī kings. He was appointed as the first governor of Berar and Mahur in about 1358 A.D. by Bahman S͟hāh. Then, Muḥammad S͟hāh I, on his accession, favoured him with a robe of honour and the title Majlis-i-'Ālī. He accompanied the king in his campaigns against Telangana in 1362 A. D. and also in 1363 A. D. He enjoyed confidence of the next ruler Mujāhid S͟hāh, and when in 1377 A. D. Mujāhid S͟hāh crossed Tungabhadra to reach Adoni, he was ordered to lay siege to the citadel. He was for some time with Mujāhid S͟hāh in his last hunting expeditions. When the latter was assassinated, Ṣafdar K͟hān took possession of the royal elephants and returned to his province without waiting to offer allegiance to the new king, but when Muḥammad S͟hāh II ascended the throne, he returned to the capital to pay obeisance. He continued to be the governor of Berar till his death which occurred in the reign of G͟hiyāt͟hu'd-Dīn Tahamtan S͟hāh and was succeeded by his son Ṣalābat K͟hān.[3]

The record is thus important since it commemorates the name of one of the first *ṭarafdārs* of the Bahmanī kingdom who enjoyed the high post for well nigh half a century. It also indicates by implication that Khuldabad was included in the province of Berar.

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[1] See note, 2 on the previous page.

[2] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 58.

[3] Firis͟hta, *op. cit.*, pp. 280, 282, 284, 285, 287, 296, 299, 300, 301, 304. It is rather surprising that Ṭabāṭabā does not mention Ṣafdar K͟hān.

The text of the record is read as under :—

TEXT

Plate VII(a)

(۱) شد این بائین بنا لیکن چه بائین　　که دیگر هم مناسب نیست با این

(۲) بعهد دولت شاه محمد　　که عمرش باد افزون یا رب آمین

(۳) جهانگیر زمان اسکندر عهد　　که ساید پای تختش فرق پروین

(۴) ز صفدر خان اعظم شد بنائی　　که بادا دشمنش پیوسته غمگین

(۵) بصدر کامرانی کامران باد　　بصد مکنت هزاران عز و تمکین

(٦) بدین احسان که از دستش برآمد　　کنند افلاکیان از دیده تحسین

(۷) بسال هفصد و هفتاد دو نیز　　چنین بائین مرتب گشت شیرین

TRANSLATION

(1) This well was constructed—but what a well it is that no other well compares with it!—

(2) in the time of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, may he have a long life! Amen, O Lord!

(3) (He is) the conqueror of the time (and) Alexander of the age, the foot of whose throne touches the forehead of Pleiades.

(4) It was constructed by the great Khān Ṣafdar Khān, may his enemies be always sorrowful!

(5) May he always be successful on the high seat of prosperity, with hundred times more power (and) thousand times more honour and dignity!

(6) For this good deed which proceeded from his hands, the angels shower praise by their eyes.

(7) In the year (A.H.) seven hundred and seventy as well as two (A. H. 772=1370-71 A. D.), such a sweet well was constructed.

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 774, FROM GULBARGA

The fourth inscription of Muḥammad Shāh I is engraved on a slab measuring 1·05 m. by 56 cm. which is fixed over the main gate of the Baṛī-Masjid situated in the Mominpura locality at Gulbarga.[1] It consists of four lines in Persian prose and verse executed in *Naskh* script which is remarkable more for the boldness and *Ṭughrā* tendencies of its letters than for the exquisiteness of their outline. Nevertheless, the calligraphy is, if not exquisite, of a fairly high order and pleasing.

It is a pity that the tablet containing this remarkable record is damaged, having cracked into two pieces which have been cemented together; the lettering has also suffered much. However, it is a matter of satisfaction that the text has been deciphered in full. The epigraph states that a mosque and a well were constructed by Rajab, son of Jalāl, an official of high status, in 1372 A. D., during the reign of Abu'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh. The portion of the text containing the designation of Rajab being damaged, it is not possible to decipher it completely

[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 103.

beyond any doubt. But the word after *shaḥna* is most probably *bār*; no other reading seems to be possible. If so, it would indicate that Rajab was the *shaḥna-i-bār*.

It is not possible to identify Rajab beyond any doubt, but in the list of the newly appointed officers of Bahman Shāh, we come across Rajab, the *shaḥna-i-bārgāh*.[1] It is very likely that he is identical with Rajab of our record.

The text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate VIII(b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم سپاس بے قیاس مر صانع بیچون و قادر کن فیکون جل جلا له
و عم نواله کی در این عهد همایون و نوبت میمون خداوند عالم اعظم سلاطین العرب و العجم

(۲) ظل الله فی الارضین خلیفة الرحمن امیر ذو الامن و الامان لاهل الایمان وارث ملک
سلیمان ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان بن السلطان خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و اعلی امره و شانه
این مسجد فرقد سا

(۳) و معبد بیت معمور آسا تمام شد توفیق یافت بر بنا (؟) ملک الامرا بندهٔ امیدوار برحمت
پروردگار رجب جلال شحنه بار (؟) بتاریخ پنجم(؟) ماه ربیع الاول سال بر هفتصد هفتاد چهار از
هجرت نبی مختار خاتم المرسلین رسول

(۴) رب العالمین صلی الله علیه و آله الاخیار :

شکر حق را که مسجد و بائین   شد عمارت بدین نکو آئین
ملک شه باد تا جهان باشد   این دعا باد مستجاب آمین

TRANSLATION

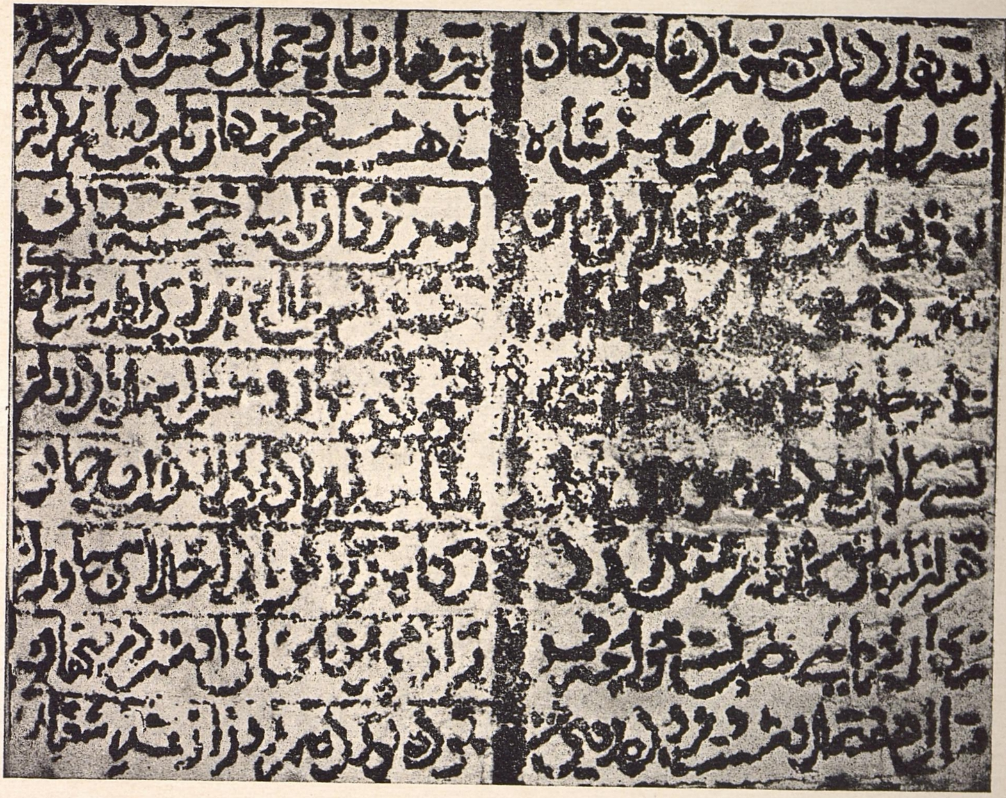
(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Unlimited praise is due to the matchless One and the mighty Lord of the universe—may His glory be exalted and His bounty be universal !—that in this fortunate reign and auspicious turn of the lord of the world, greatest among the sulṭāns of Arabia and Persia,

(2) shadow of Allāh in the worlds, vicegerent of the Merciful, leader who provides peace and security to the believers, heir to the kingdom of Solomon, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh the sulṭān, son of the sulṭān, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty and elevate his authority and power, this lofty mosque

(3) and place of worship resembling the *Bait-i-Ma'mūr* was completed. For (its) construction, guided by God was the slave, Maliku'l-Umarā (lit. prince among the nobles), hopeful of the mercy of the Nourisher, Rajab (son of) Jalāl, *shaḥna-i-bār* (?). On the fifth of the month of Rabī'u'l-Awwal, year seventyfour after seven hundred from the Migration of the chosen Prophet, the last of the apostles, the apostle of

[1] 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 527.

(*a*) Record of Muḥammad S͟hāh I Bahmanī, dated A.H. 768, from Gulbarga (p. 23)



SCALE : ·37

(*b*) Another record of the same king, dated A.H. 774, same place (p. 26)

SCALE : ·18

(4) the Lord of the worlds, may the salutations of Allāh be on him and his noble progeny! (5th Rabī'u'l-Awwal A. H. 774=4th September 1372 A. D.). (Verse :)

Thanks to God that the mosque and the well were constructed in this nice manner.

May the kingdom of the king endure as long as the world lasts ! May this prayer be accepted ! Amen !

V. FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM KOPPAL

The fifth inscription of this group and the last of Muḥammad Shāh I is unfortunately fragmentary, having lost about one sixth of its portion on the left, which contained its date portion.[1] The epigraphical tablet measuring 1·06 m. by 25 cm. appears to have been lying loose in the Koppal fort, when its inked rubbings found in the old records of my office were prepared about three decades back. In the winter of 1962, in the course of my visit to Koppal to obtain a fresh estampage of the epigraph, I was dismayed to find the tablet missing. On enquiry, I learnt that it did lie by the side of the fort-wall only about a couple of months prior to my visit.

The surviving text consists of three lines of Persian verse carved in relief in *Naskh* characters of the typical early Bahmanī inscriptions. It records the construction of a well in the enclosure of the tomb of Khwāja-i-Jahān A'ẓam-i-Humāyūn, at the orders of his wife, in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Bahman Shāh. It also mentions Tāju'd-Dīn Muḥammad who in all probability supervised the construction.

Khwāja-i-Jahān A'ẓam-i-Humāyūn of the text appears to be none other than the minister Muḥammad, son of 'Ainu'd-Dīn, who was given the title of Khwāja-i-Jahān by Bahman Shāh immediately after his accession in 1347 A. D.[2] When Pocha Reddī, still professing loyalty to the Tughluq cause, rebelled at Gulbarga, Khwāja-i-Jahān, then at Miraj, was ordered to go there. Khwāja-i-Jahān, who was later joined by Quṭbu'l-Mulk, was able to reduce Gulbarga after some difficulty. He also played an important part in the suppression of the revolt of Muḥammad bin 'Ālam and 'Alī Baig Natthū at Sagar in 1352 A.D.[3]

Nothing else is known about Khwāja-i-Jahān from historical works. It is surprising that Firishta should have totally ignored a noble of his stature, while Ṭabaṭabā and 'Iṣāmī merely give detailed accounts of the above events. Even the exact time of his death is not known. In view of the paucity of material, the epigraph under study furnishes very important evidence on the approximate time of the death of the said minister. Since the step-well in his tomb was constructed by his wife in the reign of Muḥammad I who died in 1375 A. D., it is clear that Khwāja Jahān had died before that year. Had the date of the record survived, the approximate year also would have been known. In any case, the epigraph proves the inaccuracy of Ṭabaṭabā's statement.

The text has been decipherd as under :—

TEXT

Plate IX(a)

(۱) گردید بنا خجسته بائین باهیأت نغز و طرزه آئین

---

[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 171.

[2] 'Isāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 526. But Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16 and Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 52, give the name as 'Ainu'd-Dīn Khwāja-i-Jahān.

[3] For details, see *ibid*., pp. 540-44 ; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56 ; Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19, 20.

در نوبت بادشاه گیهان — یعنی که محمد بن سلطان

والا گهر شه معظم — بهمن شه ....

(۲) این طرفه بنا که در زمانست — در روضهٔ خواجهٔ جهانست

فرموده بناش چست و موزون — مستورهٔ اعظم همایون

تا خلق زیارتش گزینند — هم ....

(۳) [1]..........کار از جان — ....دان

بنهاد بناء این ممهد — ....بتاج دین محمد

تاریخ کشید تا باتمام — ده ....

TRANSLATION

(1) This blessed well was constructed in a pleasing form and wonderful style,

in the reign of the king of the world, that is to say, Muḥammad, son of the sulṭān,

the noble descendant of the magnificent king Bahman Shāh..............................

(2) This wonderful structure of the world is situated in the enclosure of the tomb of Khwāja-i-Jahān.

It was constructed in a pleasing and attractive manner by the wife of A'ẓam Humāyūn,

so that the people may visit it (i.e. the tomb and) also..

(3 ....work through sincerity.

....................................built it on a strong foundation....................... Tāj [u'd-] Dīn Muḥammad.

The date till its completion was ten...

Muḥammad Shāh II

VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 781, FROM GULBARGA

The first of the two inscriptions of Muḥammad Shāh II included in this article is also his earliest.[2] The tablet on which it is carved, measuring 90 by 50 cm. and now lying loose in a mosque in the Shāh Bāzār-Maḥalla at Gulbarga[3] is badly damaged like some other epigraphical tablets of the Bahmanī period in that place ; it has lost some portion at the top right corner, and the original bas-relief of its damaged letters has also lost its prominence. On account of these factors, it was not possible to decipher its text completely.

The five-line text contains nine verses in Persian, carved in relief in *Naskh* script and runs to the effect that the construction of a mosque took place between 11th December 1379 A. D. and 9th January, 1380 A. D. during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh II. The portion containing the name,

[1] Only the upper portions of the letters in the third line having survived, the reading of its text is tentative.

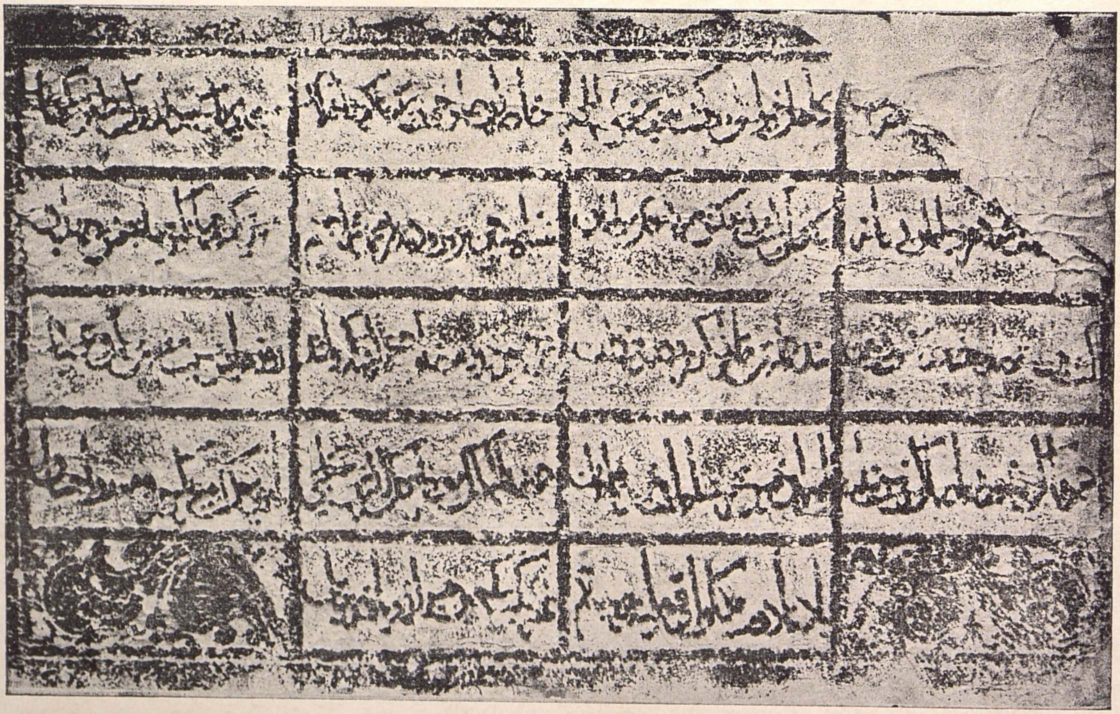
[2] His published epigraphs are dated A. H. 793 and 794, for which please see *EIM*, 1931-32, pp. 10, 11, 12, 16.

[3] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 110.

(*a*) Fragmentary record of Muḥammad Shāh I Bahmanī, from Koppal (p. 27)

Scale : ·15

(*b*) Damaged epigraph of Muḥammad Shāh II, dated A.H. 781, from Gulbarga (p. 29)



Scale : ·2

etc. of the builder cannot be satisfactorily deciphered due to the damaged nature of the text, but one of his titles Maliku'sh-Sharq is quite legible and so is the concluding part of the other title, viz., u'l-Mulk, while his name appears to be Abājī.

The deciphered text is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate IX (b)

(۱) .... دوران   کاهل خیرات از و گشت....................

خاصه آن صاحب جودی که بنا کرد ز اخلاص   مسجدی را که شده از برکت طاق بگیهان

(۲) ....شه دهر و سلیمان زمانه   که عیان گشت ز ملکش همهٔ ملک سلیمان

شاه دین پرور و دیندار محمد شه اعظم   .... جهانگیر جهان بخش جهان بان

(۳) گشت چون هفتصد هشتاد و یک از روی سنین   شد عمارت...........از کرم و رحمت یزدان

شهر بوده رمضان عظمه الله که بباشد   روزهایش سبب مغفرت نکبت و عصیان

(۴) خیرها کرد .... اصل گزین نام   اجر این خیر .... شاهان

.........الملک معظم ملک الشرق اباجی(؟)   که بود.........و بحر کرم و معدن احسان

(۵) باد تا دور فلک باقی و پاینده بعالم   عمر آنکس که چنین خیر ازو یافته بنیان

TRANSLATION

(1) ....time, so that men of charitable disposition became through him.................................Especially that lord of generosity who constructed a mosque out of sincerity, a mosque which has become through (Divine) blessings unique in the world.

(2) ....the king of the world and Solomon of the time, since in his kingdom is revealed the expanse of the kingdom of Solomon,

the faith-nourishing and religious-minded king Muḥammad Shāh, the great,....................... world-conquering, world-bestowing and world-protecting.

(3) When the reckoning of years was (A. H.) seven hundred (and) eighty and one, this monument was completed through the bounty and mercy of God.

The month was Ramaḍān, may Allāh increase its greatness, the days of fasting of which cause remission of affliction and of sins (Ramaḍān A. H. 781=11th December 1379-9th January 1380 A.D.).

(4) ....of...............lineage and select reputation did charitable deeds ....may reward for this bounty accrue to...................................

................u'l-Mulk, the magnificent Maliku' sh-Sharq Abājī (?), who is............ ocean of generosity and mine of favours,

(5) May the life of the person, i.e. the builder, by whom such a good work has been founded last for ever in the world till the revolution of the sky (lasts) !

VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 797, FROM GULBARGA

The other record of Muḥammad Shāh II in the present group is also engraved on a loose slab measuring 1.24 m. by 40 cm., which is now lying in the small mosque situated in the north-west area of the fort at Gulbarga.[1] The text of this important epigraph contains eleven couplets in Persian inscribed in six lines. The writing is mostly obliterated rendering the decipherment difficult. But with great efforts, a major portion of the text has been deciphered and full purport made out. It assigns the construction of a mosque to Mubārak Sulṭānī in 1394-95 A. D. during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. The epithets used with the name of the Bahmanī king in the previous epigraph as well as in the present record corroborate Firishta's assessment of Muḥammad Shāh as a religious-minded and cultured man.[2]

Available contemporary chronicles fail to mention Mubārak Sulṭānī, the builder. But he appears to be identical with the official of the same name who finds mention in four records from Sagar in Gulbarga district, as the *kotwāl* of the fort in A. H. 793 and 794.[3] In that case, the present record would provide more information about the subsequent career of this official. By A.H. 797, the date of our record, he had become a minister, for he is so designated in the text, which in addition records his official titles Masnad-i-'Ālī Niẓāmu'l-Mulk and personal title Fakhru'd-Dīn. The epigraph is thus very valuable and interesting.

The text, which is inscribed in relief in *Naskh* characters of the usual type, reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate X(b)

(۱) این مسجد مبارک و..........اهل دین	کز.........................بر آسمان زمین
..................و صحن	عرش و بهشت همی بکند بروی آفرین
(۲) ....که بناء(؟) بی مثال و بینظیر	.... چنان زمین
...............آن که جنت نازد دروغ نیست	اینک گواه صدق(؟) .... نقش بر زمین
(۳) یارب مگر ز کعبه گرفتند طرح این(؟)	یا خود همین است کعبه علی الحق و الیقین
در عهد شهریار جهاندار دین پناه	سلطان کے ....جم نگین
(۴) شاه جهان محمد کز سعی او شد است	ارکان شرع عالی بنیاد ذو مبین
این(؟) خیر خاص مسند عالی نظام ملک	کاصف و خوش خرد .... داورین
(۵) فخر دول مبارک سلطانی آن وزیر	کاثار خیر اوست در آفاق مستبین
در سال هفصد و نود و هفت شد تمام	میمون مکان(؟) از کرم عالم آفرین
(۶) در شکل همچو بیت المعمور گشته است	یا رب همیشه باقے دارید(؟) همچنین

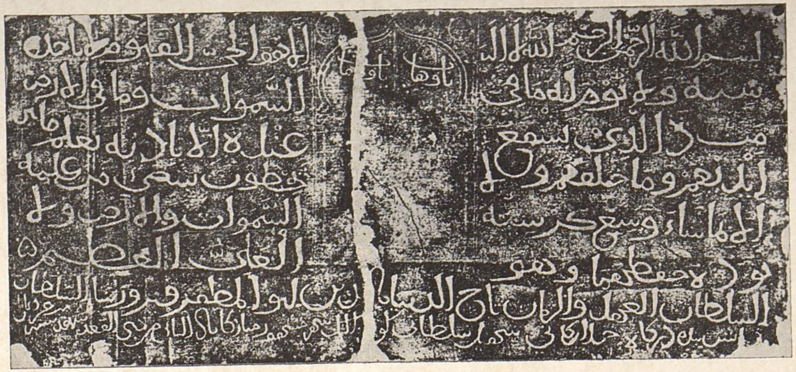
[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 101.

[2] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

[3] *EIM*, 1931-32, pp. 10, 11, 12, 17,

PLATE X

(*a*) Inscription of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī, dated A.H. 818, from Miraj (p. 32)



SCALE : ·16

(*b*) Another damaged record of Muḥammad Shāh II, dated A.H. 797, from Gulbarga (p. 30)

SCALE : ·19

TRANSLATION

(1) This blessed mosque and..............................for the religious people on account of which the earth...............................on the sky.

...............................and the courtyard...............................
The Empyrean and the Paradise are full of praise for it.

(2) ....that unparalleled and matchless building...earth.

If it is said that the Paradise is proud of it, it would not be a lie; here is a true proof ....print on the earth.

(3) O Lord ! have they perhaps taken its plan from the Ka'ba? Or is this itself the Ka'ba certainly and truly?

In the reign of the world-maintaining king, the shelter of religion, the sulṭān, who........... ....signet of Jamshīd,

(4) the king of the world, Muḥammad, by whose efforts the pillars of religion have become lofty and firm,

this special good deed has been done by Masnadi-'Ālī Niẓāmu'l-Mulk who is wise like Āṣaf,[1] ....and dispenser of justice,

(5) Fakhr-i-Duwal (lit. pride of the governments) Mubārak Sulṭānī, the *wazīr*, the traces of whose righteous deeds are evident in the whole universe.

In the year (A. H.) seven hundred and ninety and seven (A. H. 797=1394-95 A. D.) was completed this auspicious abode through the grace of the Creator of the world.

(6) In appearance, it has become like the *Bait-i-Ma'mūr* (i.e. Ka'ba). O Lord, may it remain like this for ever !

Fīrūz Shāh

VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 818, FROM MIRAJ

The loose tablet containing the first of the two inscriptions of Fīrūz Shāh studied here was found by me in 1962 in the Shāh Dongrī-Masjid in Momin-Maḥalla at Miraj in Sangli district of Maharashtra.[2] It measures 75 cm. in length and 37 cm. in width and is inscribed with what is incidentally the only Bahmanī record found in the town which, it may be remembered, was one of their earliest possessions. In 1347 A.D., Miraj, Hukeri, Raybag, Kalhar (Karhad) and Gulbarga were put in charge of the founder of the dynasty Ḥasan, then entitled Ẓafar Khān.[3] After his independence, he seems to have placed Miraj under the charge of Muḥammad, son of 'Ainu' d-Dīn entitled A'ẓam-i-Humāyūn Khwāja-i-Jahān.[4] But in about 1353 A.D., it was assigned to the fief of Prince Muḥammad who had received the title of Ẓafar Khān from his father Bahman Shāh in the preceding year.[5] On his return from the Mudhol expedition, Bahman Shāh came to Miraj along with his son and stayed there for two months, and it was from here that he visited Konkan on a hunting expedition before proceeding to Sagar on his way to Gulbarga.[6] Of the

[1] King Solomon's minister Āṣaf, son of Bar khiyā, is proverbial for his wisdom and sagacity.
[2] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 127.
[3] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 275 ; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
[4] 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 528, 540 ; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 54.
[5] Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 29 ; 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 559 ; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
[6] 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 561-62 ; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

subsequent history of Miraj under the Bahmanīs until the time of Aḥmad Shāh II Bahmanī, we get no information in historical works. And therefore, the importance of the present epigraph of Fīrūz Shāh cannot be overstressed.

It is worth pointing out that the *Imperial Gazetteer*[1] does not take notice of the Muslim possession of Miraj first under the Bahmanīs and later under the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers of Bijapur, right from the fourteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was taken by Shivājī. But more surprising is the fact that even the revised edition of the Kolhapur district gazetteer merely surmises the establishment of Muslim authority at Miraj some time before 1413 A. D., the date in which according to it the inscription under study was set up.[2]

The epigraph under study contains eight lines, the first six of which are devoted to religious text. The calligraphy of this epigraph, which is *Naskh*, suffers in comparison with that of the Gulbarga inscription of the same king dated A. H. 819 (No. IX, *infra*). The record refers itself to the reign of Tāju'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Fīrūz Shāh and states that it was at the instance of Suhail Sulṭānī, the *koṭwālbek* of the city of Mubārakābād (i.e. Miraj) that some edifice was constructed in 1416 A. D. The object of construction is not specified, but it was in all probability a mosque as is indicated by a later epigraph from the town, which states that the mosque originally constructed in the year (Shuhūr) 816 was reconstructed in A.H. 1096 (1685 A. D.), during the reign of Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh.[3] There being no other epigraph bearing the above date at Miraj, it is almost certain that our epigraph had originally belonged to that mosque. It will be observed that the date of the epigraph is Shuhūr Sana 816 which is equivalent to A. H. 818.

The inscription is important since it has preserved the name of an important official, Suhail Sulṭānī. Historical works altogether ignore him, though he was the *koṭwālbek* of Miraj. As regards the sobriquet Mubārakābād (lit. auspicious abode), used for Miraj, it is stated to have been chosen by the saint Sirāju'd-Dīn Junaidī at the request of the first Bahmanī king.[4] It has also been used by Persian chroniclers.[5]

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate X (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم الله لا اله - یا وهاب یا وهاب - الا هو الحی القیوم لا تاخذه

(۲) سنة و لا نوم له مافی السموات و ما فی الارض

(۳) من ذالذی یشفع عنده الا باذنه یعلم مابین

(۴) ایدیهم و ما خلفهم ولا یحیطون بشیٔ من علمه

(۵) الا بما شاء وسع کرسیه السموات و الارض و لا

(۶) یؤده حفظهما و هو العلی العظیم

---

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India (IG)*, vol. XVII (Oxford, 1908), pp. 361-62.

[2] *Maharashtra State Gazetteers (MSG), Kolhapur District* (Bombay, 1960), p.64, f.n.2. It is not known if the present epigraph was known to the compilers, since the object of construction which is according to them 'a mosque' is not specified there. Also, the date 1413 A. D. is wrong ; it was perhaps taken as an equivalent of A. H. 816 and not Shuhūr 816.

[3] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 144 ; *Journal of the University of Bombay*, vol. VIII, pt. I (July, 1939), p. 20.

[4] G. H. Khare, *Persian Sources of Indian History*, vol. II (Poona, 1937), p. 21, f.n. 1.

[5] Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 76, 150.

(۷) السلطان العهد و الزمان تاج الدنیا و ا[ل]دین ابو المظفر فیروز شاه السلطان

(۸) فرمایش بندهٔ درگاه خدایگانی سهیل سلطانی کو[ت]و البک شهر مشهور

(۹) مبارکاباد الثانی من ذی القعده شهور سنة ست عشر و ثمان مایة

TRANSLATION

(1-6) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. O Bestower! O Bestower! Throne Verse.[1]

(7) [In the reign] of the sulṭān of age and time, Tāju'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẕaffar Fīrūz Shāh the sulṭān, [the mosque was constructed]

(8) at the suggestion of the servant of the royal court, Suhail Sulṭānī, *kotwālbek* of the famous city Mubārakābād (i.e. Miraj), on the 2nd of Dhi'l-Qa'da, Shuhūr year 816 (i.e. A. H. 818) (2nd Dhi'l-Qa'da Shuhūr 816=3rd January 1416 A. D.).

IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 819, FROM GULBARGA

The other inscription of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh is engraved on a slab measuring 80 by 33 cm. which is fixed on the main gate of the Kharbūza-Gumbad at Gulbarga.[2] A glance at the plate will show how badly the epigraphical tablet, like its other counterparts at Gulbarga, is affected by weather and neglect, and consequently the decipherment of its text has posed a great challenge.

Its text of ten Persian couplets prefaced by Arabic text engraved in six lines in relief in beautiful *Naskh* characters, akin to those employed in previous epigraphs records that the tomb over the mortal remains of an official, Malik Hoshang, of Turk origin, who was the deputy (*nāib*) *sarpardadār* was constructed in 1416 A. D. during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh. It is a pity that I have not been able to trace any information from available chronicles about Malik Hoshang Turk, the deceased. However, it is interesting to note that he belonged to the Turk faction as is clear from his name. The text does not seem to contain the name of the builder, being somewhat vague on the point in the first couplet of the last line. Could it mean that the late Malik had himself constructed it in his lifetime?

The text has been read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XI (b)

(۱) قال الله سبحانه و تعالی کل نفس ذایقة الموت ثم الینا ترجعون کل من علیها فان و یبقی

وجه ربک ذوالجلال و الاکرام

(۲) این روضهٔ نفیس که خوش تر ز آن جنانست — از پهره داریش ملک از آسمان روانست

فردوس ثانی است تو گوئی که بر زمین — یا جنت نعیم هویدا ز این جهانست

[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter II, verse 255.

[2] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 111.

(۳) قدس خلیل رشک برد از هلال(؟) نیک   باغ ارم خجل بود الحق که جای آنست

جائی چنین مقام معظم چنان هوای   در(؟) در گهی ندیده بود تا کے این جهانست

(۴) دانی که از چه میر مشرف شد این مقام   ان خاک پاک بندۀ شاهنشه زمانست

فیروز شاه بهمن آن شاه(؟) تاج و باج   کو سرور جهان و سکون جهانیانست

(۵) والا ملک کے نایب سر پرده دار بود   هوشنگ نام ترک نهادش لقب عیانست

رفت از جهان بسیزدهم روز از صفر   بادا غریق رحمت رحمان کے مهربانست

(۶) بانی این حظیره که او اهل حکمت است   یعنی که در امان خداوند مستعانست

تاریخ ثالث و عشر از یوم جمعه بود   هیصد و نوزده کے مرتب(؟) شد این مکانست

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh, the Glorified and Exalted, has said, 'Every soul must taste of death ; then to Us you shall be brought back.'[1] 'Everyone on it must pass away. And there will endure for ever the person of your Lord, the Lord of glory and honour'.[2]

(2) This beautiful mausoleum, which is more pleasant than Paradise (is such that) for its watchmanship angles are on their way from the sky.

It is as if a second Paradise on the earth. Or is the highest heaven manifest in the world on account of it ?

(3) The sanctity of Khalīl (i.e. prophet Abraham) is envious of the crescent (of its pinnacle ?). The garden of Iram fights shy of it, and verily, there is occasion for it.

Location like this exalted place and such atmosphere, no man may have seen in a tomb ever since this world has existed.

(4) Do you know who is the nobleman to honour this place ? It contains the holy remains of the slave of the emperor of the time

Fīrūz Shāh-i-Bahman, the possessor of crown and tribute, who is the chief of the world and solace of its people, viz.

(5) the exalted Malik, who was the deputy (*nāib*) to the *sarpardadār*, Hoshang by name and Turk by descent, while his designation is evident.

He passed away from (this) world on the thirteenth day of Ṣafar. May he be covered by the mercy of the Merciful, Who is Benevolent !

(6) The builder of this mausoleum is a man of wisdom, that is to say, one who is in the protection of the Lord whose help is sought.

It was the thirteenth date and day Friday (of the) year (A. H.) eight hundred and nineteen (13th Ṣafar A. H. 819=12th April 1416 A. D.) that this abode was constructed.

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[1] *Qur'ān*, chapter xxix, verse 57.

[2] *Ibid.*, chapter lv, verses 26-27.

'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh II

X. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 837, FROM GULBARGA

The first among the four epigraphs of the reign of 'Alāu' d-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh II is found on a tomb near the Masjid-i-Langar Khāna at Gulbarga.[1] It runs into five lines of Arabic prose and states that the tomb of a saint Ḥājī Zaidā of Marāgha,[2] a disciple of the eminent saint Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Kabīr was constructed in Shawwāl A. H. 837 (April-May 1434 A. D.), during the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh.

No information is available about the occupant of the tomb Ḥājī Zaidā of Marāgha. That he was a disciple and spiritual successor of Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Kabīr and hence, by implication a saint of note, is evident from the text. Incidentally, Zaidā is an honorific form of the name Zaid. Another aspect of the epigraph worth notice is that it speaks of Aḥmad Shāh II as reigning in Shawwāl A. H. 837. This may help to remove uncertainty in the date of the accession of that monarch. According to Persian historians, Aḥmad Shāh I died on the 28th Rajab A.H. 838,[3] while modern scholars prefer 29th or 30th Ramaḍān A.H. 839 on the basis of the inscription on his tomb at Bidar.[4] But as has been pointed out by Haig, the year in the copy of the said inscription supplied to him might be variously read as A. H. 837 or 839. Unfortunately, Yazdānī[5] and Bashīru'd-Dīn published the text of this epigraph without its illustration, and therefore it is difficult to be definite about the year. On the other hand, Sherwānī writing some time ago had calculated the date to be 28th Rajab of A. H. 837,[6] but he also subsequently accepted the year A. H. 839 on the basis of the said epigraph. Now the record under study clearly bears the date A. H. 837 and mentions Aḥmad Shāh II as the ruling king. This would indicate that Sherwānī's earlier reckoning conformed to this date at least as far as the year is concerned. However, the Bidar inscription requires to be examined before a final verdict is pronounced on the subject.[7]

The slab bearing the epigraph measures 60 by 30 cm. It is somewhat weathered, and the writing is damaged. But the damage has not prevented a full decipherment of the text which runs as under :—

TEXT

Plate XI (*a*)

(١) بنيت هذه الروضة المباركة الشريفة المعطرة المنورة على ضريح الشيخ البدر الكامل

و النور الشامل

---

1 *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 112.

2 Marāgha is in the Tabrīz province of Irān.

3 Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 328. Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 72, gives the date as 25th or 26th.

4 Haig, *op. cit.*, p. 402 ; *EIM*, 1931-32, p. 27 ; Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 210, 221 f.n. 61.

5 Yazdānī, *Bidar, its History and Monuments* (Oxford, 1947), p. 125, f.n. 1 ; Bashīru'd-Dīn, *Wāqi'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bījāpūr*, vol. III (Agra, 1915), p. 125.

6 *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, vol. XVII (1943), pp. 27, f.n. 2, 28.

7 Some other modern scholars place Aḥmad Shāh I's death in A. H. 838 on the basis of numismatic evidence (*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Second Session, Allahabad, 1938, p. 272 ; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXI (1925), pp. 565, 583, 587, 588 ; M. A. Suboor, *Numismatic Supplement*, vol. XXXIX (1925), p. 37, etc.).

(٢) السالک الناسک المغفور المرحوم قدوة السالکین خلیفة الحضرة المقدسة العالیة السامیة قطب الاولیا تاج الاصفیا سالک سبیل الانبیا

(٣) اضؤ من الشمس و انور من البدر المنیر السید الشهید السلطان سیدی احمد الکبیر قدس الله روحه العزیز حاجی زیدا مراغة

(٤) نور الله روحه و ضریحه فی ایام السلطان الاعظم علاوالدنیا و الدین ابو المظفر احمد شاه ابن احمد شاه السلطان نصره الله تعالی

(٥) فی تاریخ شهر شوال المعظم سنة سبع و ثلاثین و ثمانمایة من الهجرة النبویة علی صاحبها افضل الصلوة و السلام

TRANSLATION

(1) This blessed, noble, scented and illuminated tomb was constructed over the grave of the Shaikh, (who is like) a full moon and all-embracing light,

(2) traveller (on the path of devotion), devout, pardoned, one who was shown mercy, leader of the men of path, spiritual successor of His sublime and exalted holiness, pole-star among saints, crown of the chosen ones, follower of the path of prophets,

(3) brighter than the sun and more luminous than the resplendent full moon, martyred chief, sulṭān, Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Kabīr, may Allāh sanctify his revered soul, viz. Ḥājī Zaidā of Marāgha,

(4) may Allāh illuminate his soul and his grave, in the reign of the great sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, the sulṭān, may the exalted Allāh help him,

(5) on the date i.e. in the honoured month of Shawwāl, year (A.H.) seven and thirty and eight hundred from the Migration (of the Prophet), on whose lord, may the best of salutations and peace be! (Shawwāl A. H. 837=May-June 1434 A. D.)

XI. UNDATED INSCRIPTION FROM DAULATABAD

The second inscription of Aḥmad Shāh appears on the main gate of the Yak-Mīnār mosque situated at the foot of the Chānd-Minār inside the Daulatabad fort.[1] It contains only one Persian couplet, one hemistich of which is written horizontally in bold letters on the tablet measuring 82 by 71 cm. and the other, vertically, in a minute hand on its left. The style of writing is *Naskh*. The text merely invokes prayers for the happiness of the king 'Alāu'd-Dīn i.e. Aḥmad Shāh II and expresses a wish that the edifice may prove auspicious for him.

It is difficult to say if the epigraph is *in situ*, and hence it is not possible to determine the nature of the edifice. The mosque being new, it is likely that the edifice referred to in the inscription might be the Chānd-Minār itself.[2] The epigraph was first noticed by Bashīru' d-Dīn Aḥmad whose reading is incorrect and moreover, he makes out 'Alāu'd-Dīn to be a brother of Aḥmad Shāh II.[3]

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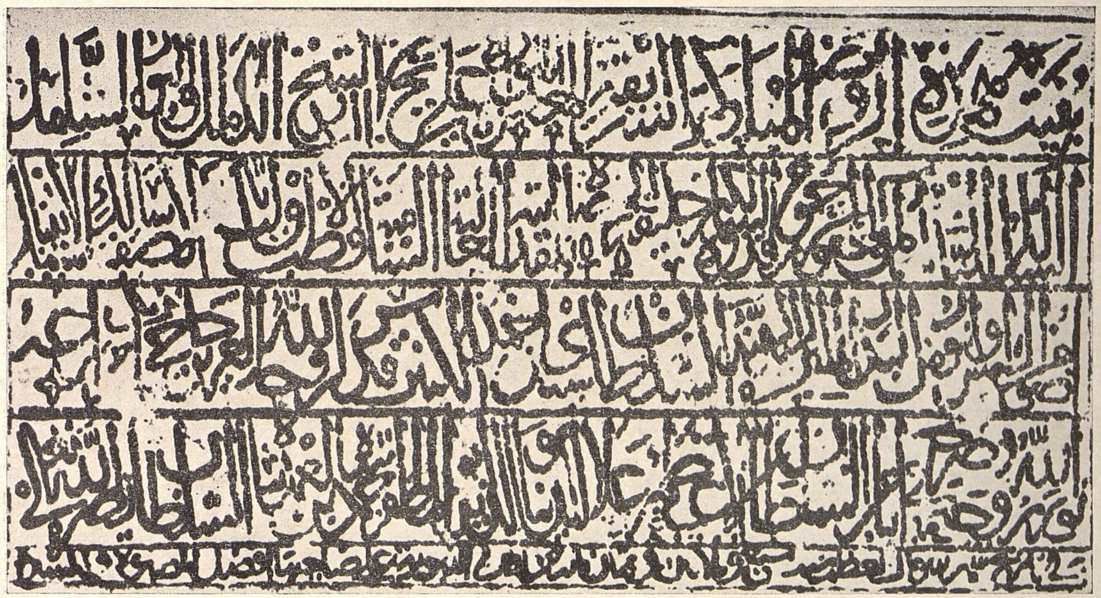
[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 36.

[2] For the inscription of the Minār now fixed into the southern wall of the mosque, see *ibid.*, No. D, 35.

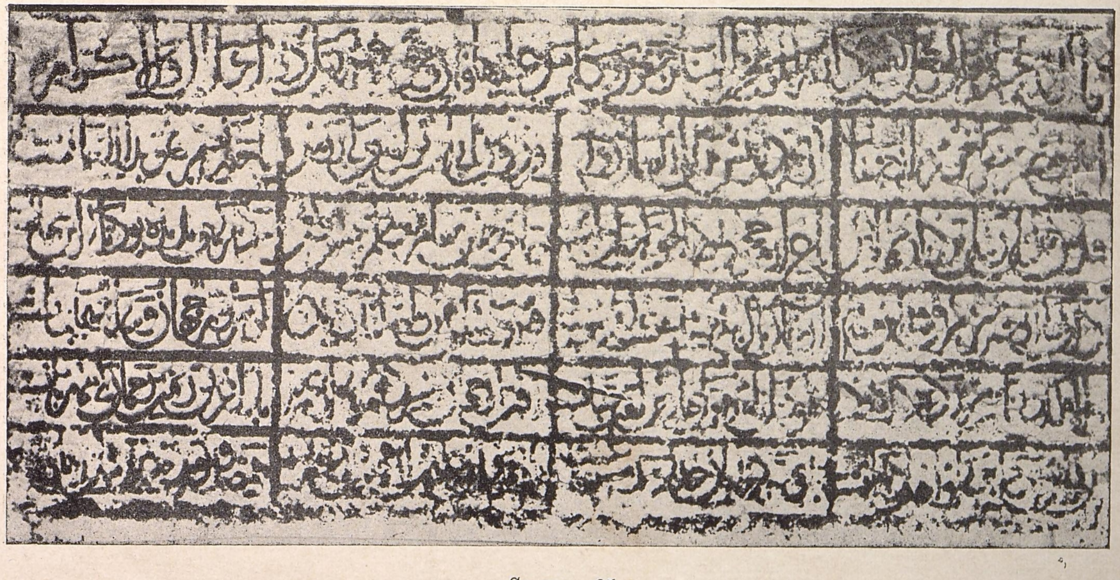
[3] Bashīru'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

(*a*) Record of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh II, dated A.H. 837, from Gulbarga (p. 35)



Scale : ·3

(*b*) Epigraph of Fīrūz Shāh, dated A.H. 819, same place (p. 33)



Scale : ·25

TEXT

Plate XIII (*a*)

(*a*) *Horizontally.*

ایا سلطان علاء الدین دلت شاد

(*b*) *Vertically.*

مبارکت باد این فرخنده بنیاد

TRANSLATION

(*a*) O sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn ! may your heart be pleased !

(*b*) May this blessed foundation (building) prove auspicious for you !

XII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 861, FROM DAULATABAD

The tablet bearing the third record of Aḥmad Shāh II is fixed on the southern outer wall of the Masjid-i-Ḥauḍ at Kagzipura near Daulatabad.[1] Measuring 68 by 75 cm., it is inscribed with a text of six lines in Persian prose in *Naskh* characters in relief. But the execution is unartistic if not crude. Also, the letters are placed one above another and the execution of their curves and shafts is not very conventional. The tablet is considerably damaged.

According to the text, the mosque situated on the tank Zainsar was constructed in 1458 A. D. during the reign of sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad Shāh by Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Parwīz, son of Qaranfal Sulṭānī, who describes himself as a slave of Shihābu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh I.

It will be seen that the epigraph furnishes the original name Zainsar of the tank, which must have been so called after the celebrated saint Zainu'd-Dīn Shirāzī (died A. H. 771) who lies buried nearby at Khuldabad. Also, this and another epigraph of the same king from Khuldabad (No. XIII, *infra*) provide some useful information about Parwīz Sulṭānī, who, as we know from the Chānd-Minār inscription, referred to above, was sent to Daulatabad by Aḥmad Shāh I in about A. H. 846, and had constructed the Minār three years later. According to these two records, Malik Parwīz continued to be in charge of Daulatabad region until at least A. H. 862, the date of the later record.[2] They also make it clear that the contempt and haughtiness with which Haig described the Chand-Minar inscription as 'bombastic and ridiculous' and its contents as 'the insolent boast of the African slave'[3] is, to put it very mildly, quite unworthy of the pen of that great historian. African slave though he may have originally been, Parwīz was, far from being a low official, a noble of first rank as is reflected by his title Maliku'sh-Sharq.

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[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 54.

[2] The *thānedār* of Fathabad in A. H. 866, Maliku'sh-Sharq Muḥammad Parwīz Sulṭān[ī], mentioned in Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.* p. 102, may have been a son of this Parwīz.

[3] *EIM*, 1907-08, pp. 22-23.

The text of the record has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XII (*a*)

(۱) این عمارت مسجد بالا[ی] حوض زینسر بنا کرد در

(۲) عهد سلطان السلاطین علاء الدنیا

(۳) والدین ابو المظفر احمد شاه بن احمد شاه السلطان

(۴) الولی البهمنی بتاریخ چهارم ماه جمید الاخر احد ستین ثمنمایه ساخت

(۵) عمارت مسجد بندهٔ درگاه یزدانی ملک الشرق پرویز قرنفل سلطانی

(۶) بندهٔ خدایگان مغفور شهبا بالدنیا و الدین احمد شاه الولی البهمنی المرحوم

TRANSLATION

(1) This building of the mosque on the (bank of the) Zainsar tank was constructed in the

(2) reign of the sulṭān of sulṭāns, 'Alāu'd-Dunyā

(3) wa'd-Dīn, Abu'l-Muẓaffar Aḥmad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, the sulṭān,

(4) al-Walī al-Bahmanī, on the 4th of the month of Jamīda'l-Ākhar, (A.H.) sixtyone and eight hundred (4th Jumādā II A. H. 861=29th April 1457 A.D.).

(5) The construction of the mosque (was carried out by) the slave of the divine court, Maliku'sh-Sharq Parwīz, (son of) Qaranfal Sulṭānī,

(6) servant of *khudāygān-i-maghfūr* (lit. pardoned lord),[1] Shihābu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh al-Walī al-Bahmanī, the deceased (lit. taken into God's mercy).

XIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 862, FROM KHULDABAD

The fourth and the last, but posthumous, record of Aḥmad Shāh II and the thirteenth of the group is built up into the south wall of the old mosque situated in the enclosure of the tomb of the saint Burhānu'd-Dīn Gharīb at Khuldabad.[2] It is extremely interesting as it belongs to the period of interregnum after the death of Aḥmad Shāh II. Historians are unanimous about the year of his death but they differ as to the date and month : 21st Jumādā I of A. H. 862 is given by Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad,[3] Ṭabāṭabā makes it sometime towards the close of that month[4] and Firishta does not give the month at all.[5] The latest authority on the subject, Prof. Sherwānī, after considering these data, has come to the conclusion that Aḥmad Shāh II must have expired before the 18th of Jumādā I.[6] The epigraph under study seems to corroborate this finding. From the text, it appears that Aḥmad Shāh II was dead for quite some time before the 10th Jumādā II, the date of the completion of the mosque.

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[1] This seems to have been the title used for Aḥmad I after his death.

[2] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 59.

[3] Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1931), p. 34.

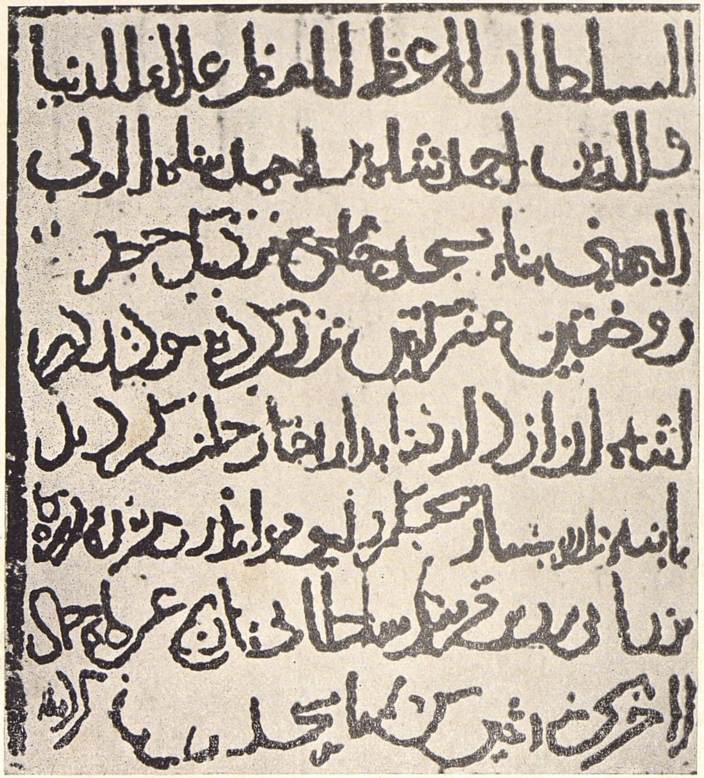
[4] Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[5] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

[6] Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

(*a*) Epigraph of Aḥmad S͟hāh II, dated A.H. 861, from Daulatabad (p. 38)

SCALE : ·16



(*b*) Posthumous epigraph of Aḥmad S͟hāh II, dated A.H. 862, same place (p. 39)

SCALE : ·09

The epigraph credits the late sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh II with the intention of constructing a Jāmi' mosque in the enclosure of the *rauḍatain* i.e. tombs of the two saints Burhānu'd-Dīn Gharīb and Zainu'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, but before his wish could take a concrete shape, he died. Consequently, the mosque was constructed under the orders of his heir-apparent—*walī 'ahd*—whose name, it may be noted in particular, is not specified, by Parwīz, son of Qaranfal Sulṭānī of the previous record. The mosque was completed in 1458 A. D.

The epigraphical tablet measures 1 by 1.3 m. and the text consists of eight lines of Persian prose inscribed in bold *Naskh* style which is better devised than that of this nobleman's previous epigraph. But the language is rather clumsy.

The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XII (b)

(۱) السلطان الاعظم المعظم علاء الدنیا

(۲) و الدین احمد شاه بن احمد شاه الولی

(۳) البهمنی بناء مسجد جامع نزدیک حضرت

(۴) روضتین متبرکتین نذر کرده بودند در

(۵) اثناء آن از دار فنا بدار بقا رحلت کردند

(۶) تا بناء نذر ایشان بحکم ولیعهد از دست بندهٔ درگاه

(۷) یزدانی پرویز قرنفل سلطانی بتاریخ عشر ماه جماد

(۸) الاخری سنة اثنین ستین و ثمنمایه مسجد جامع تعمیر گردید

TRANSLATION

(1) The great and magnificent sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dunyā

(2) wa'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh al-Walī

(3-4) al-Bahmanī had vowed to construct a Jāmi' mosque near the two holy tombs, (but) in

(5) the meantime he passed away from the transitory world to the eternal world,

(6) so that the building to be constructed under the vow (remained unbuilt, and ultimately) by the order of the heir-apparent, at the hands of the slave of the

(7) divine court, Parwīz, (son of) Qaranfal Sulṭānī, on the 10th of the month of Jumād-

(8) a'l-Ukhrā, year (A.H.) sixtytwo and eight hundred (10th Jumādā II A. H. 862=25th April 1458 A.D.), this Jāmi' mosque was completed.

Humāyūn Shāh

XIV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 862, FROM GULBARGA

This badly damaged epigraph, tentatively assigned to the reign of Humāyūn Shāh, is bilingual. The Persian portion comprises seven verses in Persian which are executed in *Naskh* script of a fairly good type, and the Sanskrit text is written in *Nāgarī* characters. These occupy a writing space of 95 by 52 cm.

The tablet, fixed on the eastern wall of the Bāolī-Qalandar Shāh at Gulbarga,[1] has weathered so much that most of the letters have either peeled off or are worn out, and hence only a tentative reading thereof could be prepared. It seems to record that a step-well was constructed in 1458 A. D. during the reign of Humāyūn Shāh. The Sanskrit version seems to name the builder as Ijalidevi.[2]

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIII (b)

(۱) شکر مر خلاق لایق حمد بی‌اندازه باد

وین متاع قیمتی و رایگان هر سو بباد

(۲) ....نعت مصطفی خوانم همی

انکه او کردست روشن شرع تا یوم التناد

(۳) بعد هجر مصطفی هیصد دگر دو سال شصت

آمده عهد شه همیون شه بهمن نژاد

(۴) انکه در عهدش ذکی ملک فخر راستان

نام(؟)..........او داده همچو نسبتش..........بداد

(۵) اینچنین جاری بکرد..............................

هم ز فیض خویش..............................کشاد

(۶) ....صاف و مشکبو

هر که آبی خورد ازین بائین بنیکی کرد یاد

(۷) بانی این خیر را یا رب دهی مثلش در عدن(؟)

تحتها الانهار تجری تا ابد آباد باد آمین

TRANSLATION

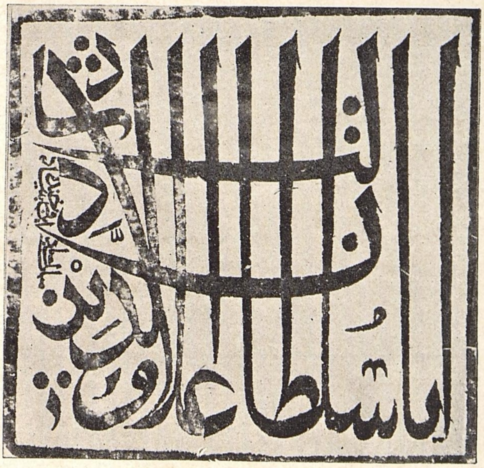
(1) Praise be to the Creator who is worthy of unlimited praise! And may this valuable and yet gratis commodity be available everywhere!

---

[1] *ARIE*, 1958-59, No. D, 113.

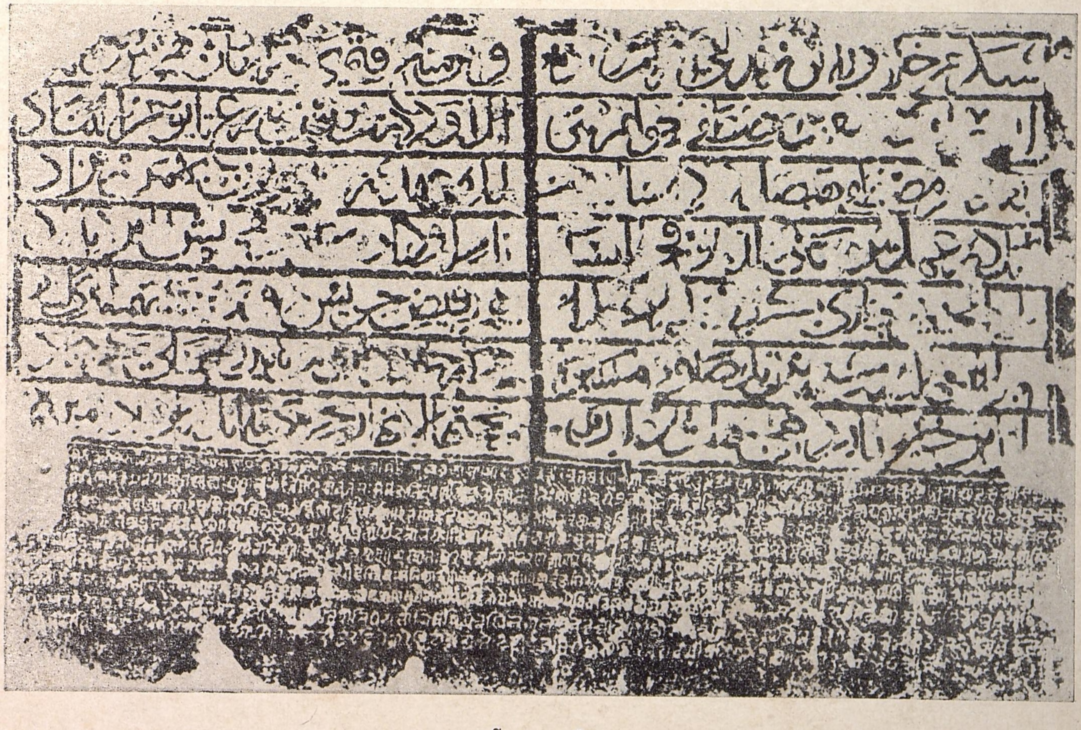
[2] *Ibid.*, 1957-58, No. B, 325.

(*a*) Undated record of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II, from Daulatabad (p. 37)



SCALE : ·1

(*b*) Damaged record of Humāyūn Shāh, dated A.H. 862, from Gulbarga (p. 40)



SCALE : ·2

(2) ....I recite the praise of the Chosen one (i.e. Prophet Muḥammad) who has illuminated the path (of Religion) till the day of Resurrection.

(3) In the year eight hundred and sixtytwo after the Migration of the Chosen Prophet (A. H. 862=1458 A. D.), it was the time of king Humāyūn Shāh, descended from Bahman,

(4) in whosereign, Dhakī[u'l-]Mulk (lit. pious man of the kingdom) and pride of the righteous (?), whose name (?)....................like his origin.

(5) Such a flowing bounty was executed...from his own munificence and opened....................

(6) ....pure and musk-scented. Whosoever drank water from this well, remembered (the builder) with good remembrance.

(7) O Lord! grant the builder of this bounty a like thereof in Paradise! May the state promised in 'And below it flow the streams' be true till eternity! Amen!

XV-XVI. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A. H. 864, FROM PARGI

The next two inscriptions of the reign of Humāyūn Shāh which are identical in their main purport are from the Jāmi'-Masjid at Pargi in the Mahbubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh.[1] They are important in having some bearing on the controversial problem of the unpopularity of Humāyūn Shāh who does not appear to be as ruthless and tyrannical as is alleged by Firishta,[2] Ṭabāṭabā[3] and others. The glowing tributes paid to him by the celebrated Khwāja Maḥmūd Gāwān,[4] the account of Humāyūn's character given by Professor Sherwānī[5] and the assertion of Dr. P. M. Joshi that 'the picture of Humāyūn's tyranny is overdrawn by early chroniclers',[6] are in a way corroborated by one of these records.

One of these epigraphs records the construction of a mosque by 'Alī, son of Shaikh Ḥasan Dhāsherwānī in September-October 1460 A. D., during the reign of Humāyūn Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī. It will be noted that the date is given in figure which is a somewhat unusual feature.[7] The epigraphical tablet measuring 83 by 45 cm. is fixed on the right side of the facade of the said Jāmi' mosque.[8] The text of two lines in Arabic is executed in *Naskh* letters of a fairly good type and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIV (b)

(۱) ابتداء هذه المسجد في العهد و الزمان السلطان العا[دل] و الاحسان الواثق بتائيد الملك الغني

---

[1] Only one of these mentions Humāyūn Shāh.

[2] Firishta, *op. cit.*, pp. 340, 43.

[3] Ṭabāṭaba, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[4] Maḥmūd Gāwān, *Riyāḍu'l-Inshā*, ed. Shaikh Chānd (Hyderabad, 1948), pp. 187, 399-402.

[5] Sherwānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-67.

[6] R. C. Majumdar, ed. *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay, 1960), p. 261.

[7] No early epigraph seems to have been found bearing the date in figure. However, the figure 743 occurs in a damaged inscription on a brick now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow, and the same has been taken to indicate its date (cf. *EIM*, 1937-38, p. 41, pl. XIIIb). Also, a record of A.H. 845 quotes the date in figure as well as in words (pp. 55-56, *infra*).

[8] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 1.

(۲) همایون شاه بن احمد شاه بن احمد شاه الولی البهمنی الفقیر الی الله الربانے علے بن

شیخ حسن ذاشروانے تمت فے ماه ذی الحجة سنة ۸٦۳

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this mosque was begun in the reign and time of the sulṭān, master of justice and kindness, reliant on the support of the Independent king (i.e. Allāh),

(2) Humāyūn Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh, son of Aḥmad Shāh al-Walī al-Bahmanī, by one who turns in need to Allāh the Nourisher, 'Alī, son of Shaikh Ḥasan Dhāsherwānī. It was completed in the month of Dhi'l-Ḥijja, year (A.H.) 864 (September-October 1460 A. D.).

The tablet containing the other record is fixed on the left side of the facade of the Jāmi' mosque.[1] This record is identical in purport but the builder, 'Alī Dhāsherwānī is further stated here to be a servant of Makhdūm Muḥibbu'llāh. While the builder 'Alī is an unknown figure in history, his master seems to be identical with the famous saint Shāh Muḥibbu'llāh, grandson of Shāh Ni'matullāh Kirmānī and son-in-law of Aḥmad Shāh II. He played an active part in the political affairs of the day.[2]

The slab measures 80 by 20 cm. and has cracked in the middle, but no damage is caused to the text. It contains two lines in Arabic with the exception of one word which is in Persian. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a slightly inferior type. The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIV (*a*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا بانے هذا المسجد و هو

(۲) متعلق مخدوم محب الله العبد الضعیف الی رحمة الله الربانے علی بن شیخ حسن

ذاشروانی تمت فے ماه ذی الحجة سنة ۸٦۳

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. 'And verily, the mosques are for Allāh only ; hence, invoke not any one else with Allāh'.[3] The builder of this mosque, who is

(2) a servant (*muta'alliq*) of Makhdūm Muḥibbu'llāh, is the weak creature, (needy) of the mercy of the Nourisher, 'Alī, son of Shaikh Ḥasan Dhāsherwānī. It was completed in the month of Dhi'l-Ḥijja, year (A.H.) 864 (September-October 1460 A. D.).

Maḥmūd Shāh

XVII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 917, FROM PANHALA

The seventeenth inscription under study and the first in this group of Maḥmūd Shāh is engraved on a tablet measuring 83 by 45 cm. which is now preserved in the Kolhapur Museum.[4] The

[1] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 2.

[2] Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, pp. 81, 88, 96, 97, 102, 103, 107, 123, 137, 155.

[3] *Qur'ān*, chapter LXXII, verse 18.

[4] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 186.

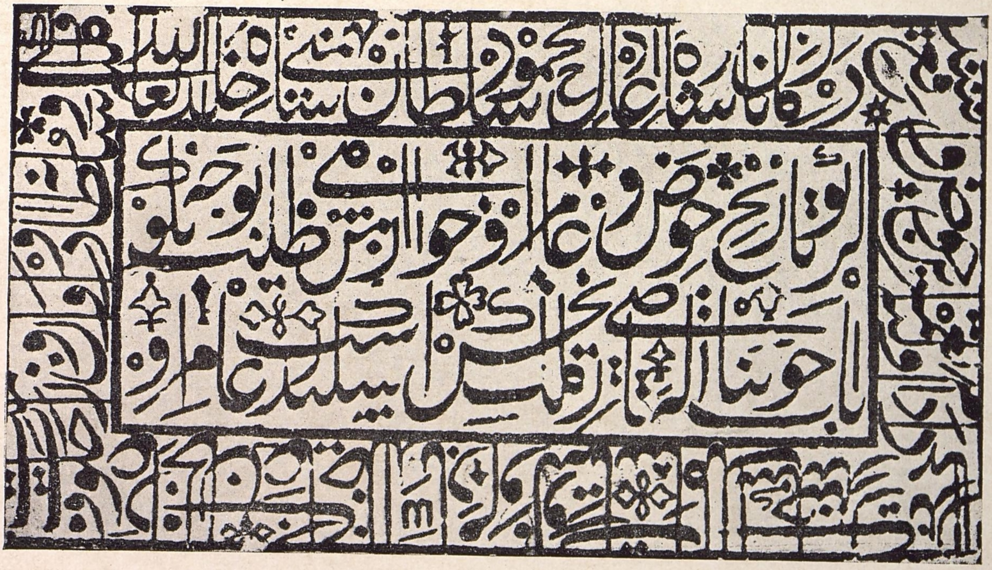
(*a*) Record of the time of Humāyūn Shāh, dated A.H. 863, from Pargi (p. 42)

SCALE : ·19

(*b*) Another record of the same king, same date and same place (p. 41)

SCALE : ·12

(*c*) Record of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, dated A.H. 917, from Panhala (p. 44)



SCALE : ·18

writing space is cut into two rectangles, one within the other, the inner one containing a chronogram of two verses in Persian and the border between the two rectangles containing a text in Persian prose recording the names of the Bahmanī sovereign, his 'Ādil Shāhī vassal and the builder. The style of writing is *Nasta'līq* which is again interesting for an epigraph dated A. H. 917.[1]

The text records the construction of a tank at Panāla, by Malik Sikandar Ḥaidarī, the *thānedār*,[2] during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī and ministership and rule of 'Ādil Khān Ghāzī. The date is contained in a chronogram which when worked out yields A. H. 917 (1511-12 A. D.). The name of 'Ādil Khān is not specified in the text, but he is evidently Ismā'īl who had succeeded his father Yūsuf in A.H. 916.[3]

This record, which was rendered into English by Watson,[4] is the earliest Muslim inscription from Panhala, the Bahmanī stronghold in the south-west of the kingdom. After reducing Mudhol, Bahman Shāh had camped at Miraj, from where he marched towards Konkan and conquered Dabhol and on his way back took Karhad and Kolhapur from their Hindu chiefs.[5] Kolhapur appears to have been a Bahmanī possession since. When Maḥmūd Gāwān led an expedition against the Rāja of Sangameshwar in 1470 A.D., he first arrived at Kolhapur[6] to set up his camp for the rainy season. After the expedition, he placed Kolhapur region in charge of his slave Khushqadam, who had already held Dabhol and Karhad. Later on, all these districts were transferred to Najmu'd-Dīn Gīlānī.[7] On the latter's death, his servant Bahādur Gīlānī established himself on the western coast seizing Goa, Dabhol, Kolhapur, Panhala, Karhad, Miraj and Belgaum, but had to take shelter in the Panhala fort on the approach of the Bahmanī king Maḥmūd Shāh. The latter, however, finding it difficult to reduce Panhala in the immediate future called off the seige and left for Kolhapur and Dabhol. Bahadur foolishly left Panhala and was killed in 1494 A. D. after a few manoeuvres. The above territory was then entrusted to Malik Ilyās, entitled 'Ainu'-l Mulk Kan'ānī[8] who was killed in 903 A. H. and at the instance of Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān of Bijapur, his *jāgir* was transferred to and his title conferred upon his eldest son Miyān Muḥammad. The Bijapur chief also made him the *sipahsālār* of the army. But subsequently, some time after the middle of 1503 A. D., Yūsuf's apprehension of 'Ainu'l-Mulk's large army and the latter's resentment on the proclamation of the Shī'a creed by the former, resulted in 'Ainu'l-Mulk's discharge from the post of commander-in-chief and transfer from the fief of Goa, Panhala, etc., to that of Hukeri and Belgaum.[9] The name of the next incumbant to the fief of Panhala and Goa does not seem to be recorded in history. Anyway, Malik Sikandar Ḥaidarī, the *thānedār* of our record, appears to be in charge of the Panhala fort on behalf of the 'Ādil Shāhī ruler in 1511-12 A. D., the date of the epigraph.[10]

The rebellion of Bahādur having abundantly proved the importance and impregnability of Panhala fort, great care was taken to fortify and improve its defences thereafter. The reservoir

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[1] In Deccan, the earliest epigraph executed in *Nasta'līq* style is stated to be dated A. H. 928 (*EIM*, 1921-22, pl. Xb). The text of our record gives A. H. 917 as the date of the construction, which means that as is usual in the case of Persian and Arabic inscriptions of India, the date is that of writing also.

[2] For another inscription of his, recording the construction of a bastion or bastions in A. H. 918, also at Panhala, see *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 189.

[3] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XXIV, Kolhapur (Bombay, 1886), p. 484.

[5] 'Iṣāmī, *op. cit.*, pp. 560, 561, 562 ; *MSG, Kolhapur District*, p. 64.

[6] *MSG, Kolhapur District*, p. 65.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 66 ; Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

[8] Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 370 ; Ṭabāṭabā, *op, cit.*, p. 154.

[9] For details, see Firishta, *op. cit.*, pp. 364, 370, 372 ; *ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 9, 11 ; *MSG, Kolhapur District*, p. 67 ; Ṭabāṭabā, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[10] Subsequently, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I deserting Bijapur had temporarily established himself at Panhala.

referred to in our record may have been the first step towards this end. The gates etc. were built, according to inscriptions occurring on them, in the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I[1] and not by Bahmanī kings as stated in the *Imperial Gazetteer*.[2]

The text of our record reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIV (*c*)

(*a*) *Border :*

در زمان بادشاه عادل سلطان محمود شاه بهمنے خلد الله تعالی ملکه و سلطانه و در آوان
وزارت و حکومت عادلخان غازے خلد ایام دولته و باشارت ملک سکندر حیدرے تهاندار ادام
دولته تعمیر این حوض واقع شد

(*b*) *Middle :*

(۱) گر تو تاریخ حوض و عامر او   خواهی از من طلب بوجه نکو
(۲) باب حوضے پناله تاریخش   ملک اسکندر ست عامر او

TRANSLATION

(*a*) In the reign of the just king Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī, may the exalted Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, and in the time of the ministership and rule of 'Ādil Khān Ghāzī, may the days of his government last for ever, and at the instance of Malik Sikandar Ḥaidarī, the *thān(e)dār*, may his rule endure, the construction of this reservoir took place.

(*b*) (1) If thou wishest (to know) the date of the reservoir and (the name of) its builder, ask me in a proper manner.

(2) Its date is (contained in the chronogram :) *the gate of the reservoir of Panāla*, and its builder is Malik Iskandar.

The chronogram contained in the phrase 'the gate of the reservoir of Panāla' works out to A.H. 917 (1511-12 A. D.).

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[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, Nos. D, 190, 193, 200, 202, 203, 204, 206, etc.
[2] *IG*, vol. XIX (Oxford, 1908), p. 396.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SULTANS OF MALWA

By S. A. Rahim and Dr. Z. A. Desai

Of the twentythree inscriptions of the Sulṭāns of Malwa, which are edited in the following lines, thirteen are from Chanderi and one from Fathabad, a suburb of Chanderi, two from Mandu and one each from Piranpur, Shivpuri, Ranod, Ujjain and Dhar, all in Madhya Pradesh and one from Talbahat in Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh.[1] The king-wise break up of these records is : Dilāwar Khān and Hoshang Shāh Ghorī, 3 each ; Maḥmūd Khaljī, 6 ; Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, 9 ; and Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, 2.[2] The present article introduces for the first time two authentic inscriptions of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn.[3]

Most of these inscriptions are published here for the first time, though some were briefly, and that too in most cases wrongly, noticed in the archaeological reports, as will be pointed out in the respective places. Quite a few of these records are historically important, and otherwise too, interesting. For example, the Talbahat record (No. II) quotes the full name and titles of Dilāwar Khān. Similarly, the fact that the title of Alp Khān, better known by his regal name Hoshang Shāh, was Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn is only known from two records in this article (Nos. IV & V). Another very interesting and new piece of information furnished by one of these records (No. V) is that Alp Khān who succeeded his father in A.H. 809,[4] had not assumed the name Hoshang Shāh until A.H. 820. Then, these epigraphs mention for the first time some of the Malwa ministers, noblemen of the first rank, learned men and saints, whom historical works have ignored. These include Malik Sālār, Ṭaghī, son of Fakhr, Malik Lādan, Malik Ḥusain, Muḥammad, son of Zain, Jamāl, son of ʻUlā and Shaikh Burhān. Even about nobles like Sher Khān or Mallū Khān, who find mention in historical works, these epigraphs have some new information to give.

Another aspect of their importance is the palaeography of these records. While in broad outlines, the script employed therein conform to the conventional *Naskh* as was prevalent under the later Tughluqs, nevertheless, in its modified form, it has assumed a distinct character. This article, then, will also provide material for a comparative study of the calligraphy of the inscriptions of the neighbouring kingdoms of Malwa, Gujarat and Deccan which vied with each other for supremacy not only in political sphere but in cultural fields as well.

Dilāwar Khān

I. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 806, FROM UJJAIN

This epigraph, published here for the first time, consists of five verses in Persian engraved on a slab measuring 80 by 70 cm. which is fixed over the main entrance of the Binā Nīv-kī-Masjid

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[1] Unless otherwise stated, these epigrpahs were copied by Shri S. A. Rahim, Epigraphical Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.

[2] Inscriptions of the Sulṭāns of Malwa have been published in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (*EIM*), 1909-10, *ibid.*, 1925-26 and *ibid.*, 1939-40 and *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (*EIAPS*), 1955 and 1956.

[3] For want of illustration, it is not possible to verify the assignment of the inscription on the Bāz Bahādur-kā-Maḥal at Mandu to Nāṣir Shāh by Ẓafar Ḥasan in *EIM*, 1909-10, p. 24, No. XVIII.

[4] See foot-note 4 on p. 49.

at Ujjain.[1] Its five-line text is badly damaged. The style of writing is *Naskh* of a tolerably good type.

This inscription is the earliest record, discovered so far, of the kingship period of Dilāwar Khān, who had thrown off the Tughluq yoke in A.H. 804 (1401-02 A.D.). After extolling his virtues and achievements, it states that the Jāmi' mosque was built and completed by him in A.H. 806 (1403-04 A.D.). Our reading of the same is given below :—

TEXT

Plate XV (a)

(۱) شه ملوک مدار زمان دلاور خان   کے در بسیط زمین مالک(؟) است علی الاطلاق

(۲) مبر هن است چو خرشید در جهان امروز   کے اوست خسرو ملک جهان باستحقاق

(۳) چو کرد مسجد جامع بناء درین خطه   بزیر گنبد این نه(؟) حصار گشته است طاق

(۴) بشد تمام تاریخ هیصد و شش سال   بیمن همت خانی ز یاری خلاق

(۵) مراد دنیا و دین در کنار او بادا   بعون قاضی حاجات و قاسم ارزاق

TRANSLATION

(1) The king of kings (and) the pivot of the Time (is) Dilāwar Khān, who is an absolute monarch in the vast expanse of the earth.

(2) It is as clear as the sun in the world today that he is the sovereign of the kingdom of the world deservedly.

(3) Since he laid the foundation of a Jāmi' mosque in this place, it has become unique under the dome of this (sky) of nine forts.

(4) It was completed in the year (A.H.) eight hundred and six, through the blessings of the aspirations of the Khān (and) through the help of the Creator (A.H. 806=1403-04 A.D.).

(5) May the desire of this world as well as the next be within his embrace, through the help of the Fulfiller of needs and Distributor of livelihood !

II. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 807, FROM TALBAHAT

The second inscription of Dilāwar Khān is from Talbahat in the Lalitpur *tahsil* of Jhansi district in Uttar Pradesh.[2] It was first noticed by Dr. A. Führer in his List thus : 'On the tomb of Pīr Tāj Bāj there is a long Arabic inscription of A.H. 874.'[3] Neither the date of the record is A.H. 874 nor is its language Arabic.

The epigraphical tablet which measures 1.5 m. by 25 cm. is now built up in the northern wall of the Dargāh of Pīr Tāj Bāj. It originally belonged to a mosque as is clear from the text. The

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[1] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1963-64, No. D, 147. It was copied by Shri W. H. Siddiqi, Senior Epigraphical Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.

[2] *ARIE*, 1963-64, No. D, 386. It was copied by Shri A. A. Kadiri, Epigraphical Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.

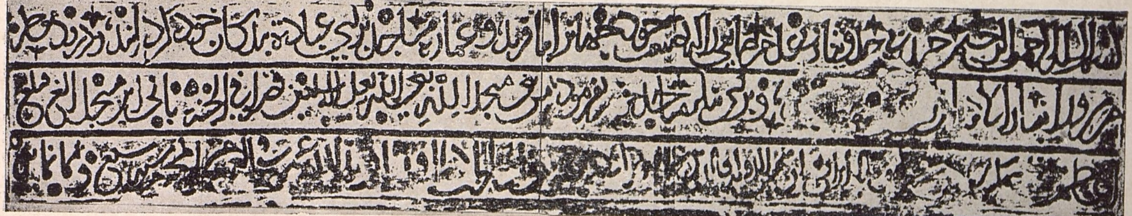
[3] Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the N. W. Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), p. 126.

MALWA SULTANS

(*a*) Record of Dilāwar Khān, dated A.H. 806, from Ujjain (p. 46)

Scale : ·15

(*b*) Another record of Dilāwar Khān, dated A.H. 807, from Talbahat (p. 47)



Scale : ·13

writing thereon is damaged on the whole, but in few places the letters have completely flaked off. It contains a three-line record in Persian engraved in relief in *Naskh* characters, which assigns the construction of a mosque in 1404 A.D. to Ulugh Qutlugh Shamsu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn 'Amīd, son of Dā'ūd Ghorī, entitled Dilāwar Khān.

The epigraph is quite important: While Dilāwar Khān's name 'Amīd also occurs in his other inscriptions,[1] the present record invests him with the title Shamsu'd- Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, which also occurs in his inscription from Chanderi (No. III). But his other three inscriptions call him Nāṣiru'd-Dīn.[2] These are dated A.H. 807 and 808 and are from Dhar and Mandu. The present record was inscribed on the first day of the year A.H. 807, while the date of the above-mentioned Chanderi record, which is fragmentary, is lost. Then, which of the two sets of titles Dilāwar Khān had adopted? It is difficult to give a categorical answer to this question. But it may be that the titles Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn were replaced sometime in the beginning of A.H. 807 by Nāṣiru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn.

The text of the epigraph reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XV (*b*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم حمد بے حد و ثناء بے عد مر صانعی را که بصنعت خود

جهانرا بیافرید و عمارة مساجد برای عبادة بندگان خود گردانید و درود معطر

(۲) مر سرور انبیا را کے........و برای بناء مساجد حق خبر(؟) بفرمود من بنی مسجدا لله

بنی الله تعالے له سبعین قصرا فے الجنة بانی این مسجد الغ قتلغ

(۳) اعظم معظم سپهکش زمان(؟) .... ایران و توران شمس الدولة و الدین عمید بن

داؤد غوری المخاطب دلاور خان مد الله عمره فے الغرة من المحرم سنة سبع و ثمانمایة

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Boundless praise and countless eulogies are due to the Creator who created the world with His art and ordained the building of the mosques for the worship of His servants. And scented salutations

(2) are due to the chief of the Prophets who .... has uttered this saying (?), regarding the construction of the mosques, 'He who builds a mosque for Allāh, the Exalted Allāh builds for him seventy palaces in Paradise.' The builder of this mosque is Ulugh Qutlugh

(3) A'ẓam Mu'aẓẓam, commander of the Time (?), ... of Īrān and Tūrān, Shamsu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn 'Amīd, son of Dā'ūd Ghorī, entitled Dilāwar Khān, may Allāh prolong his age! On the first of the month of Muḥarram, year (A.H.) eight hundred and seven (1st Muḥarram A.H. 807=10th July 1404 A.D.).

III. FRAGMENTARY EPIGRAPH FROM CHANDERI

The third and the last inscription of Dilāwar Khān, also a new record, is to be found on the Jāmi' mosque at Chanderi in the Guna district of Madhya Pradesh.[3] The three-domed mosque,

[1] *EIM*, 1909-10, pp. 11-12.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 28. However, in one epigraph he is called Nagīru'd-Dīn (*ibid.*, p. 20).
[3] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 42.

built in the Malwa style of Indo-Islamic architecture, is reported to be the biggest in size not only in the region but also in the whole of the erstwhile Gwalior State in which the town previously lay.[1]

The fragmentary tablet bearing the epigraph measures 92 by 32 cm. But as it is fixed on the eastern wall of the mosque which is a later reconstruction, it is doubtful if it is *in situ*. It contains four lines of writing in a mixture of Persian prose and verse, which is considerably damaged on account of the weathering of the stone: the letters in the four lines that have survived have flaked off in a few places, but the concluding portion containing the date is totally lost. It is, therefore, difficult to determine the purport of the record, but from the extant text, it transpires that a lofty edifice was constructed during the time of Dilāwar Khān. Whether the edifice was a mosque or some other monument, it is not possible to say.

The epigraph is remarkable for its style of writing which is *Naskh* of a fairly high order. It is also historically important in that, it quotes, as stated above, Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn as the royal titles of Dilāwar Khān. It is a pity that the date portion is lost; otherwise, it might have been possible to find confirmation or otherwise of the surmise mentioned above about the time of substitution, if at all, of one set of titles by another. The text of the inscription has been deciphered as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XVI (*c*)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم این........[گ]نبد........ارجمند.......بیت معمور و بقعه

خوش پر نور و آنبنا

(۲) ابواب(؟) فتوح و ایوان فتح و فتوح بعهد میمنت خان کبیر و خاقان جهانگیر

ملاذ عالم و عالمیان اعظم همایون

(۳) دلاور خان :

در رزم چو صد رستم در بزم هز[ا]ران جم

در جود [د]و لک حاتم در عدل انوشیروان

زاد الله قدره

(۴) ....چمن ملک دارے و گل گلبن دولتیارے آفتاب آسمان بر و امتنان شمس الدولة

و الدین دلاور خان...

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. This .... dome and precious .... Populated-House[2] and pleasant and illuminated edifice and this building

[1] *Annual Administration Report on the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State* (*ARADG*), for 1934-35, p. 3.

(2) of open gates and the pavilion of conquest and victories (was constructed) in the auspicious reign of the great Khān and world-conquering Khāqān, refuge of the world and its inhabitants, A'ẕam Humāyūn

(3) Dilāwar Khān : (verse)

He is like hundred Rustams in battle and (like) thousands of Jamshīds in assembly ;

in generosity, he is equal to two lakh Ḥātims and in justice he is Anaushīrwān.

May Allāh increase his status !

(4) .... garden of sovereignty and rose of the rose-bush of fortune, sun of the sky of goodness and obligation, Shamsu'd-Daulat wa'd-Dīn Dilāwar Khān ....

Hoshang Shāh

IV. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 817, FROM MANDU

This important record constitutes the first inscription of Dilāwar Khān's son and successor Hoshang Shāh (1405-1435) in this group and also the earliest among his epigraphs discoverd so far. Its slab is now deposited in the Archaeological Museum housed in the Dharamshāla which forms the verandah of the enclosure of Hoshang Shāh's tomb at Mandu.[1] Its original findspot is not known. It bears an eight-line text in Persian prose, executed in *Naskh* script of a fairly high order, which recalls to mind the calligraphy of the inscriptions of the later Tughluqs and of the almost contemporary Ẕafar Khān of Gujarat. The record states that in 1414 A.D., during the reign of Ḥusāmu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn A'ẕam Humāyūn Alp Khān, a mosque was constructed by Faḍlu'llāh, son of Mubārak, son of Farīd Kāfūrī. The builder is not known to us.

This is an extremely important record in more than one respect. Firstly, it quotes the full titles of the king, which are exactly the same as found on his coins.[2] Of course, in another inscription, dated A.H. 820, which is being republished (No. V), the same titles are used. But as the date and the name of the king were not deciphered in its previously published text, this impotant information was overlooked.[3]

But the other and more important aspect of this (as well as the next) inscription is the use of the name Alp Khān which has a bearing on the time of the assumption of the royal name Hoshang Shāh. It is generally believed that Dilāwar Khān was succeeded by his son Alp Khān under the royal name Hoshang Shāh ;[4] in other words, the said name was assumed on accession. But in these two inscriptions which were set up, in the capital, in A.H. 817 and 820, the name Hoshang Shāh is absent, which is quite significant. It shows that the name Hoshang Shāh was not adopted by Alp Khān at least until A.H. 820. While no date is found on his coins containing the name Hoshang Shāh, his earliest inscription bearing this name is dated as late as A.H. 828 (No.VI).

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[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 53.

[2] H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, vol. II (Oxford, 1907), p. 246, No. 1.

[3] Ẕafar Ḥasan in *EIM*, 1909-10, p. 24, pl. X, no. 1 and G. Yazdānī in *ibid.*, 1911-12, p. 10.

[4] The generally accepted date of Dilāwar Khān's death is A.H. 808, which does not seem to be correct, in view of his inscription of A.H. 809. It is surprising that Ẕafar Ḥasan, who edited this inscription (*op. cit.*, p. 17, pl. No. 2), overlooked this fact while giving the earlier year in his article (*op. cit.*, p. 7).

The epigraphical tablet which is slightly weather-beaten, measures 37 by 57 cm., and the text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (a)

(۱) بدور خداگان سلیمان نگین و بعهد

(۲) شهریار سکندر آئین خسرو هفت

(۳) کشور قهرمان هفت اختر حسام

(۴) الدنیا و الدین اعظم همیون الپخان

(۵) خلدت سلطنته موفق گشت بر بنا

(٦) و اتمام این مسجد بنده امیدوار حضرت

(۷) اله فضل الله مبارک فرید کافوری

(۸) فے الرابع و العشرین من رجب سنة سبع عشر و ثمانمایه

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the great lord having the signet of Solomon and in the time of

(2) the monarch possessing the authority of Alexander, ruler of the seven

(3) countries, champion of the seven stars, Ḥusām-

(4) u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn A'ẓam Humāyūn Alp Khān,

(5) may his sovereignty last for ever, successful was in laying the foundation

(6) and completion of this mosque, the creature, hopeful of the kindness of

(7) God, Faḍlu'llāh, (son of) Mubārak, (son of) Farīd Kāfūrī,

(8) on the twentyfourth of Rajab, year (A.H.) seventeen and eight hundred (24th Rajab A.H. 817=9th October 1414 A.D.).

V. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 820, SAME PLACE

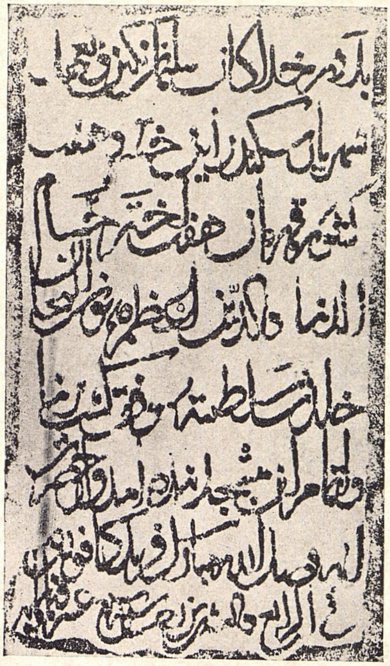
The fifth inscription of the group and second of Hoshang Shāh fixed on the Pahredāron-kī-Masjid at Mandu[1] was edited by Maulavī Ẓafar Ḥasan in an early issue of this series,[2] but in view of the damaged writing, he was not able to give a correct or complete reading, particularly in regard to the name Alp Khān and the date. The revised reading of the late Dr. Ghulām Yazdānī was also unsatisfactory. His decipherment of the date was partially, and of the imaginary place, as the capital of Dhār and of the name Alp Khān as Alqāb, wholly wrong. He correctly deciphered the word 'twenty' in the date, but erroneously read the hundred figure 'eight' as 'nine'.[3] With some effort, we have been able to decipher the whole text, and its complete reading quoted

[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 50.

[2] Ẓafar Ḥasan, *op. cit.*

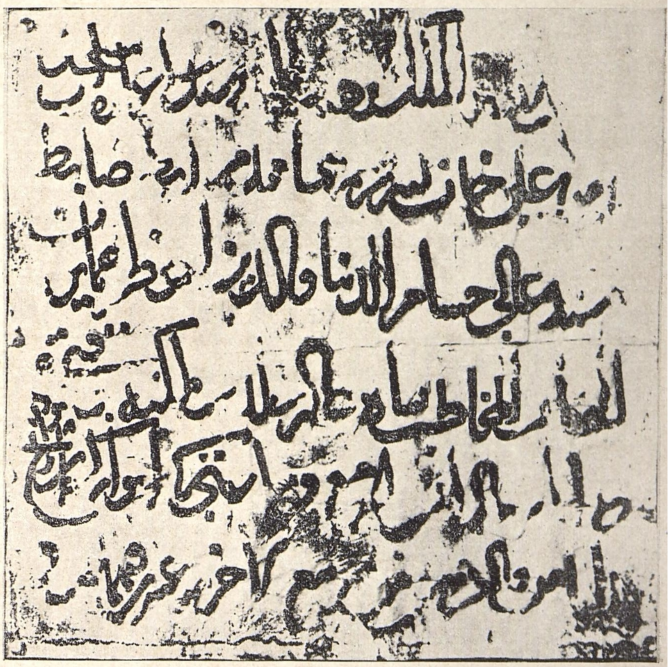
[3] Yazdānī, *op. cit.*

(*a*) Record of Hoshang Shāh, dated A.H. 817, from Mandu (p. 50)



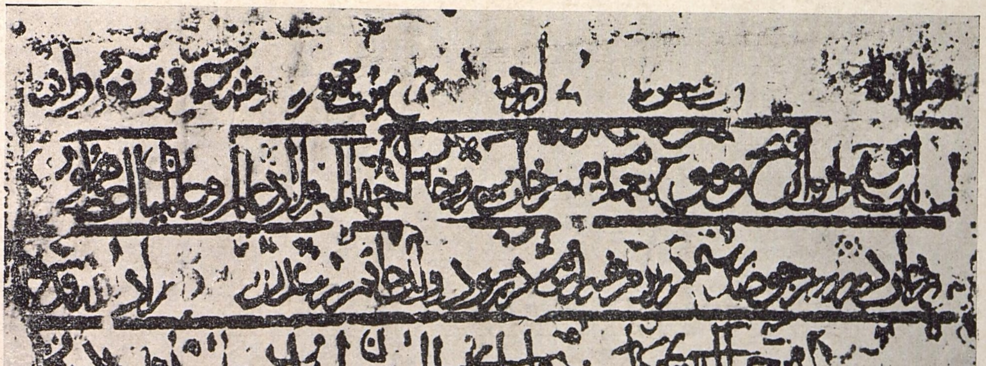
SCALE : ·18

(*b*) Another record of Hoshang Shāh, dated A.H. 820, from the same place (p. 51)



SCALE : ·18

(*c*) Fragmentary record of Dilāwar Khān, from Chanderi (p. 48)



SCALE : ·18

below is, we believe, sufficient excuse for republishing this interesting and historical epigraph. The record assigns the construction of a mosque by Masnad-i-'Ālī Ḥusāmu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Alp Khān, also known as Shāh-i-'Ālam (lit. king of the world), in 1417 A.D.

The historical importance of this record has been already pointed out (p. 49). But another interesting point about his epigraph is that it quotes Alp Khān's royal sobriquet as Shāh 'Ālam, which it will be remembered, is absent in his earlier record of A.H. 817. This may be interpreted to mean that after that date, but some time before or in A.H. 820, he had adopted Shāh 'Ālam as his formal title, subsequently to be replaced, perhaps, by Hoshang Shāh.

The text, which occupies a writing space of 60 by 55 cm. on the stone, is in Persian and runs into six lines. Its style of writing is *Naskh* of the same type as in the previous epigraph. It has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVI (b)

(۱) بعون الله الملك الوهاب باتمام رسانيد عمارة اين مسجد

(۲) امير اعلى خان كبير كريم مجاهد مرابط ضابط

(۳) مسند عالى حسام الدنيا و الدين اعظم همايون

(۴) الپخان المخاطب بشاه عالم خلدت [د]ملكته وقتے

(۵) كے آثار سعادات لامع و ساعتى كے انوار كر[ا]مات لايح بود

(۶) الثامن و العشرين من ربيع الاخر سنة عشرين و ثمانمايه

TRANSLATION

(1) By the help of Allāh, the Munificent Lord, the building of this mosque was completed by

(2) the great Amīr and mighty Khān, generous, striver (in the path of religion), militant, commander,

(3) Masnad-i-'Ālī, Ḥusāmu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn A'ẓam Humāyūn

(4) Alp Khān addressed as Shāh 'Ālam, may his kingdom endure for ever, at the time

(5) when the signs of happiness were resplendent and at the hour when the rays of bounties were shining,

(6) (on the) twentyeighth of Rabī'u'l-Ākhar, year (A.H.) twenty and eight hundred (28th Rabī' II A.H. 820=14th July 1417 A.D.).

VI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 828, FROM CHANDERI

This inscription, third of Hoshang Shāh and sixth of the present study, is from Chanderi.[1] Engraved on the lintel of a door in a tomb situated in the north-east corner of the family graveyard

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 43.

of Niẕāmu'd-Dīn, it was briefly noticed in the report of the Gwalior State Archaeological Department about four decades back,[1] but has not been published so far.

The text of the record consisting of ten verses and a line in prose is inscribed in twentyone horizontal panels on an area of only 88 by 16 cm. with the result that the letters are written in a minute hand and, also, one upon another. Moreover, the slab is also slightly weather-beaten. These factors have made the decipherment very difficult, but fortunately, with sustained efforts, we have deciphered the complete text except a few words in the central panel of the third line. The record purports that the tomb of Shaikh Burhānu'd-Dīn, a celebrated saint of his time, who died on the 14th October 1420 A.D. was constructed by the king's minister Malik Sālār in 1424-25 A.D., when Malik Naṣīru'd-Dīn held the *iqṭā'* of the *shiq* of Chanderī. Verse 9 also mentions one Jamāl, son of 'Ulā, in connexion with the protect, which can be taken to mean that he had actively supervised the work or had planned it. The text also mentions Shams, son of Farīd, as the person who composed the text and one Saifu'd-Dīn, son of Shajāwal as the 'slave of the court,' evidently of the king, i.e. an official.

We have stated above that the epigraph under study is the earliest to record the king's title Hoshang Shāh. Historians seem to imply that he assumed the name on his accession.[2] But since inscriptions only style him as Alp Khān until A.H. 820, the name Hoshang Shāh must have been adopted in or before A.H. 828, but in no case earlier than A.H. 820.

The epigraph also mentions a few important personages. The minister Malik Sālār is not traceable in historical works. The *muqṭi'* of the *shiq*, Malik Naṣīru'd-Dīn, is mentioned in a few more records from Chanderi as the governor of the place.[3] He is perhaps identical with Malik Naṣīru'd-Dīn Dabīr Jurjānī, who was concerned in an unsuccessful revolt immediately after the accession of Maḥmūd Khaljī, and was not only pardoned but also received the title of Nuṣrat Khān and the fief of Chanderi.[4] The saint Shaikh Burhān is again difficult to identify,[5] and so is Saifu'd-Dīn. As regards Jamāl, son of 'Ulā, we do come across a learned man with this name in another inscription from Chanderi itself, which is dated A.H. 867 (No. XI). But whether he is identical with Jamāl of our inscription, it is difficult to say with certainty.

The style of writing employed is *Naskh* of a fairly good order, and the quality of verse is also quite good. The text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (*c*)

(۱) بعهد دولت هو شنگشاه روی زمین　　شده عمارت این روضه چون بهشت برین

بصحن گنبد خضرا چگونه قبهٔ نور　　بسان حلقه خاتم نشانده سنگ نگین

خجسته والا دستور شه ملک سالار　　بناء روضهٔ رضوان صفت بکرد متین

بوقت صاحب اقطاع شق چندیری　　(۲) مطیع حضرت علیا ملک نصیر الدین

[1] *ARADG*, 1924-25, Appendix E, 6, merely states: Records that the tomb was built during the reign of Hoshang Shāh and gives the name of a saint of the time who is obviously the inmate of the tomb.

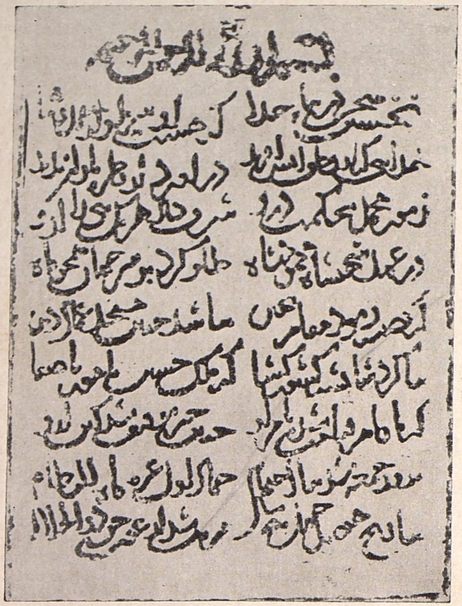
[2] Niẕāmu'd-Dīn, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Lucknow, 1875), p. 534; Firishta, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, vol. II (Kanpur, 1884), p. 234.

[3] *EIM*, 1925-26, pp. 21-22, pl. Xa; *ibid.*, 1939-40, p. 44, pl. IXa.

[4] Niẕāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 546; Firishta, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

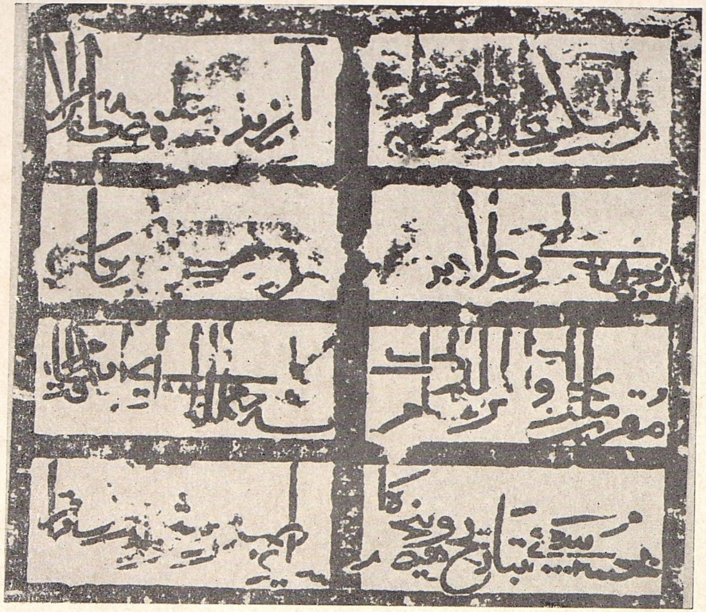
[5] At least two saints with this name find mention in epigraphs, but they seem to be different (*EIAPS*, 1955 and 1956, pp. 119, 120; *ARIE*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 48, 49; and Nos. XXII and XXIII, *infra*).

(*a*) Inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 845, from Ranod (p. 54)



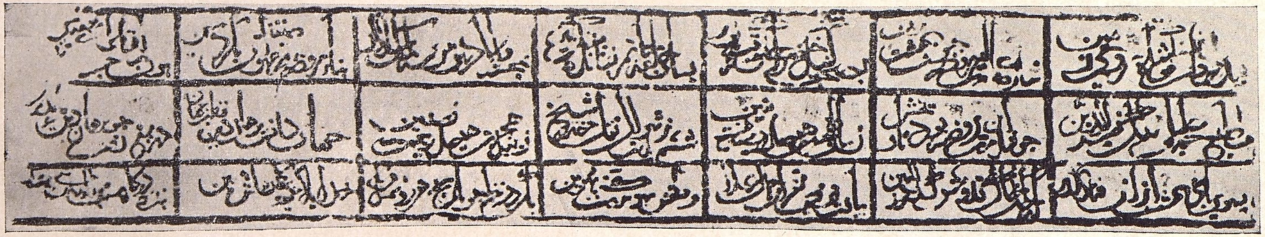
SCALE : ·24

(*b*) Epigraph of the same king, dated A.H. 850, from Mandu (p. 56)



SCALE : ·17

(*c*) Record of Hoshang Shāh, dated A.H. 828, from Chanderi (p. 52)



SCALE : ·22

چو شد مرتب این روضه بود تاریخش   ز سال هجرت هیصد و بیست هشت سنین

ششم بدست ز شوال نقل حضرت شیخ   ز بعد هجرت هیصد و بیست سه ز سنین

جهان دانش برهان دین قطب جهان   دریغ رفت چو برهان دین مانده حزین

(۳) بسوی باغ بهشتش ازان فتاد گذر   که کحل خاک قدومش کنند حور العین

بیافت توفیق تعمیر این جمال علا   .... ترتیب .... نوین

بکرد نظم چو تاریخ هر دو شمس فرید   خدا بباد همیشه بکارهاش معین

بندۀ درگاه سیف الدین بن شجاول(؟)

TRANSLATION

(1) In the time of Hoshang Shāh (i.e. king) of the earth, this tomb like the highest heaven was constructed.

What a dome of light (it is) in the courtyard of the green dome (of the sky)! It is as if the bezel has been set in the circle of the ring.

Malik Sālār, the exalted and noble minister of the king, laid the firm foundation of the tomb like Riḍwān,

in the time of the holder of the *iqṭā‘* of the *shiq* of Chanderī,

(2) Malik Naṣīru'd-Dīn who is subservient to His Exalted Majesty.

When this tomb was constructed, the date was eight hundred and twentyeight years from the Migration (A.H. 828=1424-25 A.D.).

It was sixth of the month of Shawwāl (and) eight hundred and twentythree years after the Migration (6th Shawwāl A.H. 823=14th October 1420 A.D.) when His Holiness the Shaikh departed (from this world).

(He was) the world of knowledge, Burhān-i-Dīn (lit. demonstration of Faith) and pole-star of the world. Alas, when Burhān (demonstration) left, Dīn (Faith) was saddened.

(3) He departed towards the garden of the Paradise in order that the black-eyed houris might use the dust of his feet as collyrium (for their eyes).

Jamāl, (son of) 'Ulā, received Divine guidance for its construction .... new .... method ....

Since Shams, (son of) Farīd, has composed (the text containing) the dates of both (events), may God always be his helper in his affairs!

The servant of the (royal) court, Saifu'd-Dīn, son of Shajāwal (?).

Maḥmūd Shāh I

VII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 845, FROM RANOD

The seventh inscription of the study and the first of the six epigraphs of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī (1436-1469 A.D.), which is published here for the first time, appears on the central *miḥrāb* of a

mosque now used as a class-room of the Higher Secondary School at Ranod in Shivpuri district of Madhya Pradesh.[1] The tablet measuring 28 by 42 cm. contains nine couplets in Persian verse, inscribed in fairly good *Naskh*.

The text records that the mosque in the *qaṣba* of Ranod was built by Malik Ḥusain in 1441 A.D. during the reign of the king. The builder Malik Ḥusain, being a local chief, does not find mention in historical works, and evidently our record is the only source which has preserved his name. Also interesting is the fact that the record was found as far north as Ranod, thus indicating the extent, at least at this time, of the Malwa sulṭān's authority.

The quality of verse is quite mediocre, and the orthography is also faulty at places. The text is read as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) نخستین سخن در ثناء خدا   که هست او سزاوار حمد و ثنا

(۳) خدائی که از نطف انس آفرید   در آورد از قطره باران پدید

(۴) ز نور محمد بحکمت درو   شرف داد هر یک نبی را ازو

(۵) در عهد شهنشاه محمود شاه   طلو[ع] کرد بر سر جهان همچو ماه

(۶) که قصبه رنود مقام بهین   بنا شد چنین مسجد عماد دین

(۷) بنا کرد شاشته[2] کشور کشا   که ملک حسین نامور باصفا

(۸) که تا قام قیامت شده نام او   چنین خیر توفیق شد کین ازو

(۹) بروز جمعه شد بنا احتمام[3]   جماد اول غره ماه العظام

(۱۰) بتاریخ هیصد چهل پنج سال   مرتب شد از عون حق ذوالجلال

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) The first words should be devoted to the praise of God, because He is worthy of praise and eulogy,

(3) that God, who created the human-being from sperm and (so to say) brought out rain from a drop.

(4) He created human beings from the light of Muḥammad through His Wisdom and conferred honour on every Prophet through it.

---

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 89.

[2] Evidently " شایسة " is intended.

[3] Either " اختتام " or " اهتمام " is intended.

(5) In the reign of the emperor Maḥmūd Shāh (who) has risen above the head of the world like moon,

(6) in the town (*qaṣba*) of Ranod, the best place, such a mosque (which is like) the pillar of Faith was built.

(7) It was built by the worthy conqueror (of the region), who (is) the famous and pious Malik Ḥusain.

(8) He has become famous till the day of Resurrection, since such a good work has been carried out at his hands.

(9) The construction was completed on Friday, the first of the respected month of Jumād First;

(10) in the year eight hundred fortyfive, it was completed through the help of God, the Lord of Glory (1st Jumādā A. H. 845=17th September 1441 A.D.).

VIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 845, FROM SHIVPURI

The tablet bearing this inscription, second of Maḥmūd Shāh and eighth of the article, is fixed on the entrance gate of the Jāmi' mosque at Shivpuri.[1] Measuring 93 by 32 cm., it contains a record of four lines in Persian-mixed Arabic. Unlike in the case of the inscriptions of the Malwa kings, which are usually executed in good calligraphical style, the *Naskh* script employed in this epigraph is quite crude, and the orthography is also faulty. The composition, too, leaves much to be desired.[2] Then, the date is given not only in words but also in figures which is again an unusual feature. While these factors may not justify a doubt about the genuineness of the epigraph, the strong possibility that the present record may represent a faithful copy of the original inscription, whose tablet went out of use due to damage or weathering, cannot be ruled out.

The epigraph records the construction of a mosque by Maḥammad Turkān and Aḥmad Turkān in 1441 A. D. during the rule of Maḥmūd Shāh. In the report of the Gwalior Archaeological Department where it was first noticed, the builders were described as Muhamad Shirqa and Ahmad Sher Shah.[3] Its text is published here for the first time.

TEXT

Plate XVIII (c)

(۱) بناء هذه المسجد جامع فی عهد سلطان العصر

(۲) و الزمان [4]فی سبیل الله [5]محمود شاه خلجی تمة العمارة [6]نصاب [5]عباد الله

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 91.

[2] The text seems to have been suggested by that of an inscription of Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh from Ranod (*ibid.*, No. D, 73 and Introduction P. 29).

[3] *ARADG*, 1928-29, Appendix D, 56. The mistake was rectified in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1917-18, p. 37.

[4] Perhaps the word "المجاهد" is left out before this word.

[5] The "د" in these two words is written as "و".

[6] This is a mistake for "اضعف".

(۳) محمد ترکان و احمد ترکان حکومت عهد ماه رجب

(۴) سنة ثمانية[1] و خمسة اربعين ۸۴۵

TRANSLATION

(1) The construction of this Jāmi' mosque took place in the reign of the sulṭān of the age

(2) and time, [striver] in the path a of Allāh, Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī. The building was completed by the weakest of Allāh's creatures,

(3) Muḥammad Turkān and Aḥmad Turkān in the reign of the kingdom, (in) the month of Rajab,

(4) year, (A.H.) eight hundred and five (and) forty. 845 (Rajab A. H. 845=November-December 1441 A. D.).

No information is available to us about the builders.

IX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 850, FROM MANDU

The squarish tablet bearing the ninth inscription of the article and third of Maḥmūd Shāh is lying loose along with few others in the above-mentioned Museum in the Dharamshāla at Mandu.[2] Measuring 61 by 60 cm., it seems to have weathered considerably as is clear from its damaged lettering. This has, however, not affected the purport of the record, according to which Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, the favourite minister of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Khaljī, constructed a tomb in 1446-47 A. D.

The minister Malik Niẓāmu'l-Mulk finds frequent mention in historical works. He held the title Mushīru'l-Mulk until the accession of Maḥmūd Khaljī, who conferred the title of Niẓāmu 'l-Mulk upon him and made him his minister.[3]

The text consists of a poetical fragment of four verses in Persian inscribed in four lines in *Naskh* characters of a fairly good type and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVII (b)

(۱) هزار شکر خدا را و صد هزار درود   بر آن گزیده نبی مصطفی علیه سلام

(۲) بعهد خسرو خلجی علاء دین [محمود]   خدیو ....ش باد بکام

(۳) مقرب ملک بحر و بر نظام الملک   که کار مملکت از رای ا[و] گرفت نظام

(۴) بحسن سعی بتاریخ هیصد و پنجاه   بنای روضه رضوان مثال(؟) کرد تمام

---

[1] This should be ثمانمایه.

[2] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 54.

[3] For details. see Firishta, *op.cit.*, pp. 243, 245, etc. ; Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *op.cit.*, pp.,546, 559, etc.

TRANSLATION

(1) A thousand thanks to God and a hundred thousand salutations on that select prophet Muṣṭafā, may peace be on him!

(2) In the reign of the Khaljī king, ' Alāu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, the lord, may...... be to his liking!

(3) Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, the favourite of the king of sea and land, through whose counsel, administration of the kingdom was well conducted,

(4) completed through praiseworthy efforts, the building of the tomb like Riḍwān in the year (A. H.) eight hundred and fifty (A. H. 850=1446-47 A.D.).

X. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 864, FROM CHANDERI

This damaged record, the tenth of the study and fourth of this king, is inscribed on a squarish tablet measuring 43 by 45 cm. which is fixed into the western side of the step-well locally called Chandiya-Bāorī at Chanderi.[1] The letters in some portions of the text have peeled off, and even elsewhere, they have lost their shape. Added to this, the style of writing tends to cursiveness, and the versification is poor. Under the circumstances, a complete decipherment of the record is not possible. While most of its text has yet been read, the name of one of the two builders has un-fortunately defied decipherment. The epigraph was first mentioned and stated to be illegible in the Gwalior archaeological report.[2]

Comprising twelve hemistiches of Persian verse inscribed in equal number of lines, the inscription purports that the step-well was built in 1459-60 A.D. by two persons belonging to the Baqqāl (grocer) community, the name of one being Chānd. It further reports that the *shiq* of Chanderī formed the *iqṭā'* of Mahābat Khān Sulṭānī. The latter was a well-known official of Maḥmūd Khaljī. He was killed in the battle fought between his master and Niẓām Shāh Bahmanī of Deccan two years after the date of the record.[3]

The style of writing is *Naskh*, and the text reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (a)

(۱) بعهد خسرو گیهان یل جانبخش دین پرور

(۲) شه محمود خلجیشاه علاء دین.........................

(۳) شده چاهی.....................تر چو چاه بابل و زمزم

(۴) درو آبی مصفا بین چو آب چشمهٔ کوثر

(۵) مهابتخانست سلطانے مقطع شق چندیری

(۶) ز او(؟ راجا.....................بودند صاحب بذل یکدیگر

---

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 44.

[2] *ARADG*, 1924-25, Appendix E, No. 11.

[3] Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p. 559; Firishta, *op.cit.*, p. 252.

(٧) که بودن هر دو بانی چاه...............و چاند بقالان

(٨) نگهدارد مر ایشان را خدای رازق و قادر

(٩) ولی ایشانست(؟)................ برادر زاده هست چاند

(١٠) چنان اهل خرد بودند ایشان هر دو زرکمتر

(١١) ز هجرت بود هیصد و شصت و چهار از سال تاریخش

(١٢) مرتب گشت کاین چاه معظم خوشتر و بهتر

TRANSLATION

(1-2) In the reign of the ruler of the world, life-imparting and Faith-nourishing hero, the Khaljī king Maḥmūd 'Alāu'd-Dīn..

(3-4) a well was built which is .... than the well of Babylon and Zamzam. In it find pure water like the water of the stream of Kauthar.

(5-6) Mahābat Khān Sulṭānī is the *muqṭi'* of the *shiq* of Chanderī.

On his behalf .... were .... master of generosity.

(7-8) The two builders of the well were....and Chānd, the *baqqāls*,

may God, the Provider of livelihood and Lord of might preserve them !

(9-10) But they are (?) ....brother's son .... Chānd.

They were such men of wisdom, both of them, though not very rich.[1]

(11-12) From the Migration, the year was eight hundred and sixtyfour (A.H. 864=1459-60 A.D.),

when this big well was beautifully and nicely built.

XI. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 867, SAME PLACE

The eleventh inscription of the study and fifth of Maḥmūd Shāh is to be seen on the tomb of Mahma Shāh situated on a hill about three kilometres north-west of Chanderi.[2] Published here for the first time, it is not *in situ*, since it records the construction of a step-well. The epigraphical tablet was broken into six pieces which have now been cemented together and built into the wall at the headside of the grave. It measures 53 by 61 cm. It will be seen that the slab has undergone some damage on accout of weathering, and the sharpness of the outlines of its letters is lost.

The text consists of seven verses in Persian. The style of writing, which is *Naskh*, is remarkably good and quite pleasing to the eye. The epigraph purports that Jamāl, son of 'Ulā and grandson of Muḥammad and great-grandson of Khiḍr, constructed first a lofty dome and then a

---

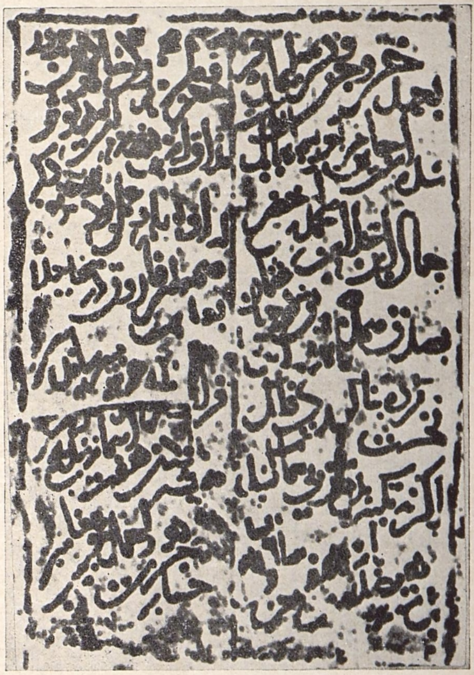
[1] From this verse, it may be inferred that the builders were employed in the secretarial section of the government.

[2] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 61.

(*a*) Inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 864, from Chanderi (p. 57)

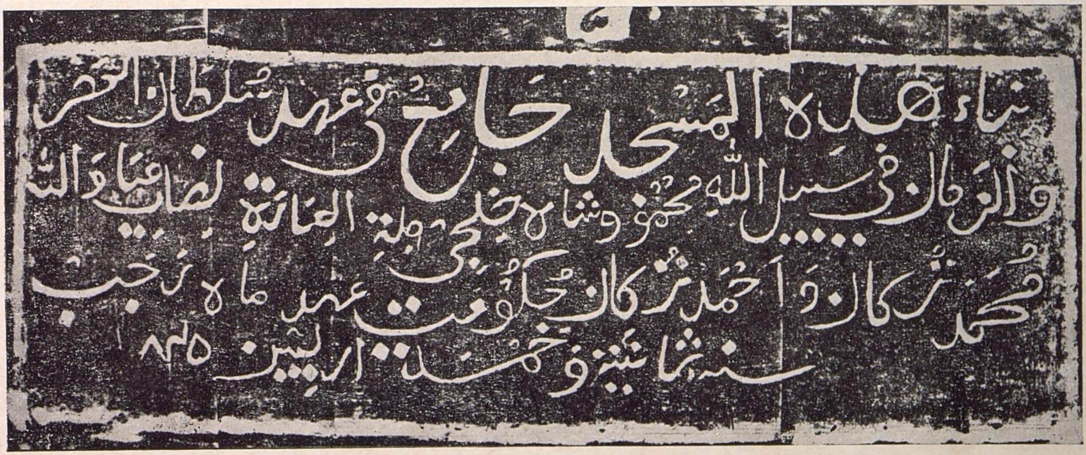
SCALE : ·22

(*b*) Record of the same king, dated A.H. 867, same place (p. 59)



SCALE : ·16

(*c*) Another record of Maḥmūd Shāh I, dated A.H. 845, from Shivpuri (p. 55)



SCALE : ·2

step-well in 1462-63 A.D. during the reign of Maḥmūd Khaljī. While we are not in a position to identify the builder, the record compares him, in respect of virtues, with the four caliphs, and on account of his learning, he is called the second Abū Ḥanīfa.[1] Thus, while this hyperbolic praise is evidently a figment of the poet's imagination, it may safely be presumed that Jamāl was respected for his learning. It will be recalled that we have already come across one Jamāl, son of 'Ulā in an earlier inscription of A. H. 828 (No. VI), but it is difficult to say if both are one and the same person.

Its text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XVIII (b)

(١) بعهد خسرو جن و بشر سلیمان فر   معز و مکرم محمود شاه دین پرور

(٢) شده است چاه مربع چو چاه بابل را ست   مذاق آب نه در زمزم است نه در کوثر

(٣) جمال ابن علا بن محمد بن خضر   که او بعلم و عمل بود بو حنیف دیگر

(٤) بصدق همدم صدیق در حیا عثمان   بعدل همدم فاروق در سخا حیدر

(٥) نخست کرده بنا گنبدی فلک آسا   فراز کوکبه(؟) عرش میرساند سر

(٦) اگر نه تکیه بدین.........بی سما گنبد   همیشه بودن هفت آسمان شدے ابتر

(٧) بدست هیصد با شصت هفت سال بنا   حساب هجرت احمد حبیب پیغامبر

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the king of genii and mankind, having the glory of Solomon, the respected and venerated Maḥmūd Shāh, the cherisher of Faith,

(2) this square well like the well of Babylon has been constructed ; the taste of its water is not to be found either in the water of Zamzam or Kauthar.

(3) Jamāl, son of ' Ulā, son of Maḥammad, son of Khiḍr, who in knowledge and practice is another Bū Ḥanīfa,

(4) (and) who in truth and shyness is a companion of (i.e. like) Abū Bakr and Uthmān, and in justice and generosity like ' Umar and Ḥaidar respectively,

(5) constructed first a dome like the sky which carries its head above the pinnacle of the Empyrean.

(6) If the heaven did not have it as the support, the existence of the seven skies in their present position would have been doomed.

(7) The year of its construction was eight hundred and sixtyseven from the Migration of the beloved Prophet Aḥmad (A.H. 867=1462-63 A.D.).

XII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 867, SAME PLACE

The twelfth eipgraph is another newly discovered record of Maḥmūd Shāh and his sixth and last in this group. Inscribed in fairly good *Naskh* letters on a slightly damaged tablet

[1] The famous jurist of Islam and founder of one of the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence.

measuring 64 by 31 cm., which is set up above the central *miḥrāb* of the Motī-Masjid of Chanderi,[1] this four-line record contains seven Persian verses assigning the construction of a mosque and lay out of a garden in its precincts to Muḥammad, son of Zain, the *nā'ib-i-'arḍ*. The work was carried out in 1462 A.D.

The builder's identity is obscure. His claim to recognition is supported by his official position—he was the deputy *'āriḍ* either of the kingdom, or as is more likely, of the province. But historical works completely ignore him. The inscription is thus quite important.

Its text has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XIX (a)

(۱) الله - الله

ای که مسجد شد مرتب عهد سلطان جهان　　[خ]سر[و] دارا و اسکندر بسان اردوان

(۲) آفتاب دین و دنیا و ماهتاب عدل و داد　　خسرو محمود خلجیشاه مهدی زمان

در حریمش بوستانے ساخت چو باغ ارم　　عکس آن باغ است خلد.........باغجنان

(۳) بانی مسجد محمد زین نایب عرض کوست　　در و غا کرار ثانی و در سخا حاتم نشان

هرچه او یکدم سیاقت می کند بالاتفاق　　تا ابد یکحرف نتواند د[بیر] آسمان

(۴) بانی و اولاد بانی را خدایا از کرم　　تا قیامت از خللهای زمانه ده امان

هفت و شصت و هیصد بوده ز هجر مصطفے　　غرۂ مه بد(؟) ربیع الاول تاریخ آن

TRANSLATION

(1) Allāh, Allāh. The mosque was constructed in the reign of the king of the world, who is the king like Dārā, Alexander and Arduwān.

(2) The sun of both the worlds and moon of justice and generosity is the king Maḥmūd Khaljī Shāh, leader (mahdī) of the Time.

In its compound is laid out a garden like the garden of Iram, whose mere reflection is the evergreen garden of Paradise.

(3) The builder of the mosque is Muḥammad, (son of) Zain, the *nā'ib-i-'arḍ*, who is in battle another Karrār (i.e. 'Alī) and is in generosity like Ḥātim.

Admittedly, whatever amount of accounts work he does in one moment, even the secretary of the sky cannot do a single word thereof till eternity.

(4) Oh God ! through Your favour, protect the builder and his descendants from the disturbances of the time.

The year was seven and sixty and eight hundred from the Migration of Muṣṭafā, (and) it was the first day of the month of Rabī'u'l-Awwal (1st Rabī' I A.H. 867=24th November 1462 A.D.).

[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 60.

Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Khaljī

XIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A.H. 888, FROM UNKNOWN PLACE

The findspot of this interesting and historically important inscription, first of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Khaljī (1469-1500 A.D.) and thirteenth in the article, is unfortunately not known.[1] An old estampage thereof was found among old impressions lying in our office.[2] Efforts to trace the actual place of the record from gazetteers and similar sources have not yielded any result. From the text, it was reasonably surmised that the inscrption might have existed at Sehore, a district headquarters in Madhya Pradesh, but it was reported to be untraceable by the members of our office who were deputed to copy inscriptions there.[3] In short, the epigraph for the present survives only in the single old copy of the estampage from which it is edited here.

Its text comprises ten lines of closely written text in minute hand on an area 58 by 40 cm. But the inked rubbing is not satisfactory. However, concentrated efforts have resulted in unravelling practically the whole text which purports that Masnad-i-'Ālī Mallū Khān, the senior, had built a mosque in 1454 A.D. during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī, but after his death, in 1483-84 A.D., his son Masnad-i-'Ālī Mallū Khān, who was the *muqṭi'* of the *shiq* of Ajmer, for arranging the marriage of Asad Khān(?), Sharaf Khān and Lād Khān, who were evidently his sons,[4] came to Sehore from Ajmer, accompanied by seven thousand troops and ten elephants, and finding that the mosque constructed by his father had become old, gave orders for its reconstruction on a larger scale. This was during the reign of Mughīthu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Ghiyāth Shāh.

The inscription thus furnishes very valuable information. While both the father and son are not unknown to students of history, the details given above are not to be found in historical works.[5] Its importance also lies in the fact that it is the earlier of the two epigraphs which quote Ghiyāth Shāh's royal title not recorded even on his coins ; the other inscription which in addition bears his *kunya*, is also studied in the following lines (No. XVIII).

The epigraph has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XIX(b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم مسجد بنیان کردی خان اعظم و خاقان معظم مسند عالی
ملوخان

(۲) مرحوم مغفور بعهد دولت سلطان عادل باظل (Sic.) محمود شاه خلجی در سنه ثمان
خمسین و ثمانمایه

---

[1] This will be noticed in *ARIE*, 1964-65.

[2] Office of the Superintendent for Persian and Arabic Inscriptions, Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur.

[3] There are quite a few places bearing the name Sehore in Madhya Pradesh. It is likely that the record under study exists in one of these places.

[4] The term Khānzādgān preceding these names seems to indicate the relationship.

[5] These two nobles of great rank get only scanty notice in historical works ; please see, Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *op.cit.*, p. 591, 409 and Firishtā, *op. cit.*, pp. 261, 270, 271. Also, the names of Malik Mallū Sulṭānī and Khān-i-Aẓam Sharaf Khān occur in the inscriptions on the Kushk-Mahal at Fathabad-Chanderi (*ARIE*, 1961-62, Nos. D, 59-62).

(۳) بعد وفات خان معظم مسند عالے ملوخان مرحوم در سنه ثمان ثمانین ثمانمایه خان اعظم و خاقان معظم پهلوان(؟)

(۴) الزمان تهمتن گیهان الغ اعظم قتلغ معظم مسند عالے ملوخان ابن ملوخان مقطع شق اجمیر

(۵) با هفت هزار سوار و ده زنجیل(؟)[1] پیل با کوکبهٔ تمام از اجمیر برای خواستگاری خان زادگان معظم و مکرم

(۶) خان اسد خان(؟) شرفخان ولادخان کے گوی بازان نادر و دستک[2] اندازان قاهر اند در

(۷) قصبه سهور آمده مسجد مذکور بنظر مبارک دید که عمارت اول است فرمایش کرده از سر بنیاد زیادت کرده

(۸) راست کنانیده بعهد دولت بندگی سلطان السلاطین مغیث الدنیا و الدین غیاث شاه

(۹) ابن محمود شاه خلجی خلد الله خلافته هرکه درین مسجد نماز گزارد برای ایمان

(۱۰) مسند عالے ملوخان مرحوم و ایمان مسند عالے خان(؟) ملوخان دعاء کند

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. The mosque was constructed by the great Khān and exalted Khāqān, Masnad-i-'Ālī Mallū Khān .

(2) the deceased and the pardoned, in the time of the kingship of the just and generous sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī, in the year fiftyeight (and) eight hundred (A.H. 858=1454 A.D.).

(3) After the death of the late Khān-i-A'ẓam Masnad-i-'Ālī Mallū Khān, in the year eighty-eight and eight hundred (A.H. 888=1483-84 A.D.), the great Khān and the exalted Khāqān, the champion

(4) of the Time, Rustam of the world, Ulugh-i-A'ẓam, Qutlugh-i-Mu'aẓẓam, Masnad-i-'Ālī Mallū Khān, son of Mallū Khān, *muqti'* of the *shiq* of Ajmer,

(5) marched from Ajmer with seven thousand horse, ten elephants and full retinue for arranging the marriage of the exalted and respected Khānzādas (i.e. sons of Khān),

(6) Khān Asad Khān, Sharaf Khān and Lād Khān who are among the exceptional ball-throwers and mighty .... - flingers,

(7) came to the *qaṣba* of Sehore[3] and, having inspected the above-mentioned mosque whose previous building had become old, ordered so that it was reconstructed, extended and

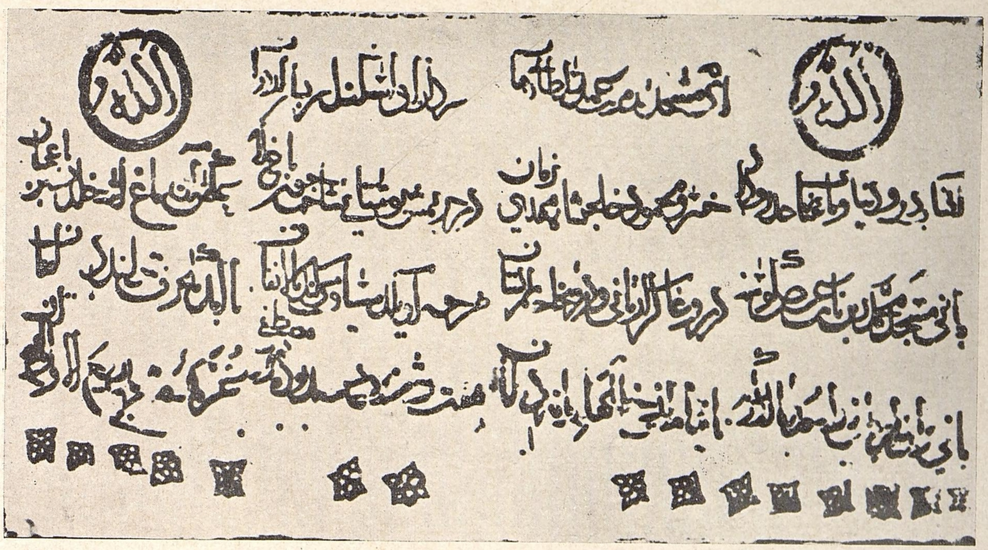
(8) completed in the time of the kingship of His Majesty the sulṭān among the sulṭāns, Mughīthu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Ghiyāth Shāh,

[1] Evidently, زنجیر is intended here.

[2] The reading of this word is rather doubtful.

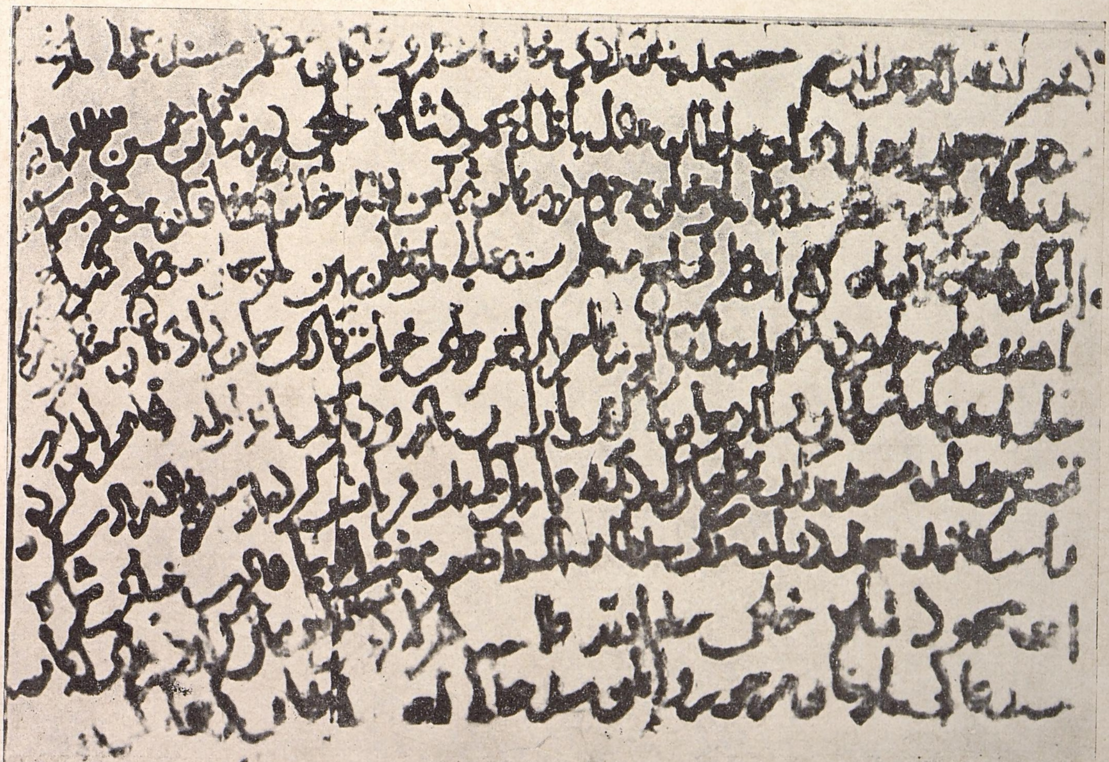
[3] This implies that Mallū Khān hailed from this place.

(*a*) Inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh I, A.H. 867, from Chanderi (p. 60)



SCALE : ·25

(*b*) Record of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, A.H. 888, findspot not known (p. 61)



SCALE : ·3

(9) son of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom. Whoever offers prayers in this mosque is requested to pray for the faith of the late

(10) Masnad-i-'Ālī Mallū Khān and for the faith of Masnad-i-'Ālī Khān Mallū Khān.

XIV-XV. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A.H. 890, FROM CHANDERI

The next two inscriptions of Ghiyāth Shāh are from the Qāḍiyon-kī-Bāoṛī at Chanderi. The tablet bearing one is fixed to the right of the stairs leading from the west.[1] It is square-shaped, being 55 cm. a side, and inscribed with a poetical fragment in Persian consisting of sixteen verses running horizontally into nine lines. The calligraphy of the epigraph is quite pleasing, and as such, must have been designed by an expert; it is *Naskh* with tendencies towards cursiveness. However, the letters are written in smaller hand and quite close to one another. This fact alone made the task of decipherment difficult, but what has further made it so is the quality of versification: the language particularly is clumsy and somewhat unintelligible; which fact, it is hoped, will be considered a sufficient excuse for somewhat free translation of the text. The inscription was first referred to in the Gwalior archaeological report, where no particulars thereof were given.[2]

The epigraph records the construction of a step-well, a mosque and a garden by Qāḍī ibn Mihrān in 1485 A.D., when Sher Khān was the *muqti'* of the place under Ghiyāth Shāh. It further relates that while there were a number of wells in the locality, the water of none was found to be as good and sweet as that of this well. The text is composed by Muḥammad, son of Khwāja.[3]

It is difficult to identify Qāḍī ibn Mihrān who is spoken of as an eminent person. The other record on the same step-well refers to him as Malik Qāḍī ibn Mihrān indicating his association with the government. From his name, he appears to be of Arab extraction, if not immediate domicile.

The text runs as follows:—

TEXT

Plate XX (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) حمد خدائی که کرد آب بناء حیات   و از آب داد درجه اشیاء کائنات

هم داد انبیا را این قدر آب روی   کایشانکنند جمله جهانرا بهشت سوی

(۳) هم کرد مردمانرا ازانش سخی   کایشانکنند سخاوت بهر بیت نبی

هر یک بقدر طاقت کرد اندرین جهان   در عهد بادشاهی نیشانیش چنان

(۴) در عهد شاه خلجی سلطان غیاث دین   مقطع کے شیر خان چو علی اندرین زمین

قاضی ابن مهران ے روی مصطفے   باائین[4] بکرد و مسجد و باغی برای خدا

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 45.

[2] *ARADG*, 1924-25, Appendix E, No. 16.

[3] He also composed the text of inscription No. XXVII.

[4] The word "بائین" is thus spelt in the epigraph.

(۵) توفیق داد حق و ببخشید همتش کو کرد این بنا لطیف و روشنش

گرچه بدند بائین درخطه بیشمار لیکن بدست خالی بے اینچنین ز کار

(۶) کافی(؟) شداست قاضی از فضل ذوالجلال و از صدق اهل همت باقے تمام سال

این چنین آب لطافت مردم ندید کس این خطه را کرم خدای کریم بس

(۷) شیرین آب همچو شکر شهد گشت این تاریخ این ز کار شده هیصد و تسعین

یا رب بفضل خویش بکن نیتش قبول روز جزابخش شفاعت نبی رسول

(۸) هر عالمی کے خواند این نظم یادگار دعائی کند بدل کی یا رب کردگار

ایمان انکه چاه به بندید پایدار از مکر شر شیطان همی نگاهدار

(۹) از فضل حق امید بدین فعل خیر است درکار اوست نیکی عملی قبول هست

بیچاره محمد ابن خواجه کرد نظم امید دعا ایمان کنانند اهل فهم

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Praise be to God who has made water the source of life and gave from water grades to the things of the universe.

He has in the same way imparted such water (i.e. lustre) to the face of the prophets that they lead the whole world towards Paradise.

(3) He also made people generous from it so that they might practice generosity for the house of the Prophet (Muḥammad).

Everyone practised (generosity) according to his ability, in the reign of a king whose indication is such :

(4) in the time of the <u>Kh</u>aljī king, Sulṭān <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u>-i-Dīn, when the *muqṭi'* in this land was <u>Sh</u>er <u>Kh</u>ān who is like 'Alī,[1]

Qāḍī ibn Mihrān, in the hope of seeing the face of the Prophet, built a step-well, a mosque and a garden for the sake of God.

(5) God guided him and gave him courage to build this beautiful and bright structure.

Although there were innumerable step-wells in this region, all were dry and of no use.

(6) Qāḍī through the bounty of the Glorious God has attained success and sufficiency. And may he remain for ever through the true faith of men of aspirations !

Nobody has seen this type of pure water. For this region, this bounty of the Generous God is sufficient.

(7) The sweet water is like sugar and honey. The date of the completion of this work is (A.H.) eight hundred and ninety (A.H. 890=1485 A.D.).

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[1] This is a hint that his own name was 'Alī (see p. 73 *infra*).

(*a*) Epigraph of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, dated A.H. 890, from Chanderi (p. 63)

SCALE : ·2

(*b*) Another version of the same record (p. 65)

SCALE : ·21

Oh God! Through your favour, accept his (builder's) intention and grant him the intercession of the Prophet on the day of Retribution.

(8) Every learned man who will read this poem of memento, should pray with his heart, saying, 'Oh Creator God !

protect the faith of the man who has constructed this long-lasting well from the deceit (and) mischief of Satan.'

(9) For this good deed, it is hoped of the favour of God that his good action will be accepted.
The helpless Muḥammad, son of Khwāja, has composed this, and hopes that men of understanding will pray for his faith.

The other inscription from the well, which constitutes the fifteenth inscription of this study and third of Ghiyāth Shāh, is fixed to the right of the steps on the east.[1] It is inscribed in twelve lines in *Naskh* script, typical of the inscriptions of the Malwa sulṭāns at Chanderi. The tablet measures 50 by 47 cm.

The epigraph is almost identical in purport with its counterpart studied immediately before. The only difference is that in this epigraph Qāḍī ibn Mihrān is stated to have constructed a *sarāi* near the step-well with a garden therein, but there is no mention of a mosque. Thus, according to both the epigraphs, the mosque, *sarāi*, garden and step-well were constructed at the same time, i.e. in 1485 A.D. Also, here the builder is called Malik indicating that he was in royal service. From verse 3, it may be inferred, though not without hesitation, that he also enjoyed the title Amīr-i-amirān. It is worthwhile to point out that the poetry of this record is superior to that of its opposite number.

The text has been deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XX (b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) بعهد خسرو خلجی غیاث بن محمود   که قول و فعلش مقبول هست [2]همه محمود

(۳) بیمن دولت پاینده شیر خان غازی   که او بمعرکه از همسران کلاه ربود

(۴) سر دو کون ملک قاضی انک بن [3]میرا نست   که میر امیران بودست و بندهٔ معبود

(۵) بسال هیصد و تسعین ز هجرت نبوی   بفال اختر سعد [و] بطالع مسعود

(۶) بنا بائین کرده که در عذوبت ماش   بدهر جوید یابد نظیر خرد مفقود

(۷) بآب زمزم و نیل و فراط یا جیحون   مقابلش چه کنم پیش او کراست وجود

(۸) برای نفع عوام و خواص این خاص است   کسی که نفع نگیرد بدان بود بے سود

(۹) بسان ذات شریفت بدهر مقبولست   همیشه بادا مقبول دشمنت مردود

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[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 62.

[2] This should perhaps be "هم".

[3] So engraved on the stone. But in the previous inscription, it is clearly "مهران".

(۱۰) دگر سرای قریبش که همچو بغداد است   دروست باغ فروزان چو آتش نمرود

(۱۱) بهر طرف همه زیب و زینت است چو خلد   بهر جهة همه رونق است نامحدود

(۱۲) بباد باقی بانی سرای و بائین   تا بخلق بود سایهٔ خدا ممدود

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) In the reign of the Khaljī king, Ghiyāth, son of Maḥmūd, whose word and actions both are accepted and praised;

(3) through the auspicious and ever-enduring government of Sher Khān Ghāzī who carried off the cap (of superiority) from his equals in battle,

(4) the leader of both the worlds namely, Malik Qāḍī, son of Mīiān (i.e. Mihrān), who is the noble among nobles (Amīr-i-amīrān) and servant of God,

(5) in the year eight hundred (and) ninety from the Migration of the Prophet (A.H. 890= 1485 A.D.), at an auspicious omen of stars and happy fortune,

(6) built a step-well which in sweetness of its water, seeks but cannot find its equal in the whole world.

(7) How can I compare it with the water of Zamzam, Nile, Euphrates or Bactrus ? Who can exist before it ?

(8) This is specially meant for the benefit of the low as well as the high. One who does not derive benefit therefrom is useless.

(9) It is acceptable in the world like your (i.e. builder's) personality. May it always be accepted and your enemy be rejected !

(10) (He) also (constructed) a *sarāi* near it, which is like (the city of) Baghdād ; in it is a garden sparkling like the fire of Nimrod.

(11) On all sides, it is ornamented and bedecked like Paradise and in all directions there is unlimited splendour.

(12) May the builder of the *sarāi* and the step-well remain (in the world) as long as the shadow of God is spread over His creatures !

XVI-XVII. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A. H. 890 AND 893, SAME PLACE

The Battīsī-Bāoṛī at Chanderi is the largest and most remarkable step-well of the town about 18 metres a side and sinking by four stages.[1] It contains two inscriptions, one on either side of the main entrance.[2] The tablet bearing the epigraph on the right side, the sixteenth of the present study and fourth of Ghiyāth Shāh, measures 76 by 76 cm. It contains nineteen lines of writing, a few letters of which, particularly towards the end, have flaked off.

The text consists of seventeen verses in Persian inscribed in ordinary *Naskh* characters. The quality of verses is poor, and the meaning is not clear in places. The record states that the construction of a step-well and a mosque nearby was started in 1485 A.D. by Ṭaghī, son of Fakhr,

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[1] *ARADG*, 1924-25, p. 5, where no particulars of the epigraph are given except the date.

[2] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 46.

entitled Shāriqu'l-Mulk, the minister of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Shāh, at the suggestion of one Yā'qūb, and according to the other inscription on the left side, it was completed three years later. The text was composed by one Ibn Ḥamīd.

The minister Ṭaghī, entitled Shāriqu'l-Mulk, is completely ignored by historians and it is only from the present epigraphs that we even know his name. From one of the verses, it transpires that the minister was a disciple of the famous saint Badī'u'd-Dīn Shāh Madār of Makanpur (d. A.H. 840), which is quite an interesting piece of information. In view of the fact that another minister, Malik Lādan, with the same title, is mentioned in a later inscription, from Fathabad near Chanderi (No. XX), it would appear that the title Shāriqu'l-Mulk was usually reserved in the Malwa court for a man of the status of a minister only. The other two persons, viz. Ibn. Ḥamīd and Ya'qūb are not known.

The text of the record is quoted below :—

TEXT

Plate XXI (a)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) تعالی الله که این بائین کنون شد در زمین اظهر

بفیض فضل سبحانی بطالع سعد و نیک اختر

(۳) بعهد خسرو باذل سحاب دست دریا دل

غیاث الدین شه عادل سکندر جاه و دارا فر

(۴) بناش هست در ملکش که عالم قایم از ملکش

خطاب شارق الملکش شده زان شاه دین پرور

(۵) ملک صدر و فلک قدرش قضا حکم و قدر امرش

طغی بن فخر در دهرش خدا کردست نام آور

(۶) مدد فرمود در بارش بگیهان کرد مختارش

بدیع الحق دیندارش تقی شاه مدار اکبر

(۷) بمثلش سرو[د]ی اکرم نشد ز آدم الی این دم

که [م]نصب هر چهار اعظم خدایش داد تا محشر

(۸) وزیری اینچنین مشفق ندیده چشم خلق از شق(؟)

نه یک در مغرب و مشرق نظیرش نیست کس در خور(؟)

(۹) کجا ز ابن حمید آید چنان مدحش که می‌باید

و لیکن زین سپس شاید کشم در وصف دائبن سر

(۱۰) زلال خضر در عالم نهان بود از بنی آدم

کنون آن سرور اعظم عیان کرده درین کشور

(۱۱) سقانا الله چه خوش آبست کی شیرین تر ز قند آبست

مگر شربت ز عنابست کے شیرین هست چون شکر

(۱۲) نبات مصر و قند چین نباشد اینچنین شیرین

رسد کی در حلاوت این وگر شیرست نیشکر

(۱۳) قریب چشمهٔ اعظم [بناکردست؟] مسجد هم

که این کعبه است و آن زمزم حریمش روضه اخضر

(۱۴) بگرد روضهٔ خوشبو گل..............در هر سو

مگر شد در جهان مینو که این طوبیست و آن کوثر

(۱۵) سراسر نیکٔ مرغوبست لبالب...........حد خوبست

بفرمایش ز یعقوبست چنین خوشروح خوش منظر

(۱۶) نسیم لطف ربانی موبد باد بر بانی

کے جن و انس و حیوانی بیاسودند زان سرور

(۱۷) ز هجر مرسل اعظم ز نهصد سال بد ده کم

ربیع الاخرین پنجم بگشته در جهان اظهر

(۱۸) بود تا آب در دریا مبادا قعر این پیدا

خدایا هر زمان این را بکن پر آب شیرین تر

(۱۹) آمین یا رب العالمین

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Exalted be Allāh that this step-well has now appeared on the earth, through the bounty and grace of glorified Lord, at a happy time and lucky stars,

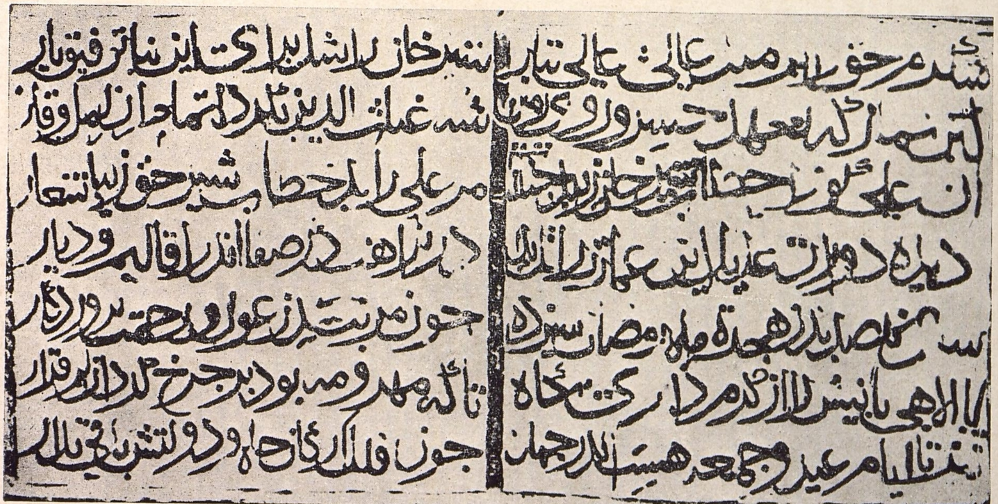
(3) in the reign of the generous and just king with cloud-like hands and ocean-like heart, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, the just king with Alexander's dignity and Dārā's glory.

(4) Its building is in the kingdom of one, through whose rule the world endures; from that faith-nourishing king, the title Shāriqu'l-Mulk was conferred on him.

(*a*) Inscription of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, dated A.H. 890, from Chanderi (p. 67)

SCALE : ·16

(*b*) Record of the same king, dated A.H. 900, same place (p. 73)



SCALE : ·2

(5) He is of the status of an angel and dignified like sky ; his order is the decree of fate and his wish is the command of destiny. (He is) Ṭaghī, son of Fakhr, whom God has made famous in the world.

(6) The great, pious and religious-minded saint Badī'u'l-Ḥaq Shāh Madār has assisted him and made him his select (disciple) in the world.

(7) No chief like him who commands greatest respect, is born from the days of Adam till now. God has conferred upon him all the four great ranks till the day of Resurrection.

(8) The eyes of the people of the *shiq* (?) have not seen such a compassionate minister ; neither in the west nor in the east, he has any equal worth the name.

(9) How can Ibn Ḥamīd sing his praises as are due ? And hence, I should now proceed to describe the step-well.

(10) The limpid water of Khiḍr (i.e. Water of life) was concealed in the world from the eye of man ; now this great chief has produced it in this region.

(11) May Allāh grant us its drink ! How sweet is the water which is sweeter than sugar-candy ! Or perhaps it is the syrup of jujube, since it is as sweet as sugar.

(12) The sugar of Egypt and sugar-candy of China are not so sweet. How can sugar-cane come up to its sweetness even though it is sweet ?

(13) Near the great stream (i.e. step-well), he has also constructed a mosque ; this (i.e. mosque) is Ka'ba and that (i.e. well) is Zamzam, and its enclosure is like the verdant garden.

(14) All around the sweet-smelling garden ....flowers on all sides. But perhaps Paradise has appeared in the world for, that is Ṭūbā (lote-tree) and this is Kauthar (stream in Paradise).

(15) The whole of it is extremely pleasing ; upto brim ....extremely well. Such an exhilarating and beautiful place has come into existence at the request of Ya'qūb.

(16) May the breeze of Divine favour permanently blow for the builder. Since the genii, human-beings and animals have derived comfort from that chief.

(17) From the Migration of the great Messenger, the year was nine hundred less ten (and) fifth of the last Rabī', when it appeared, i.e. was founded (5th Rabī' II A. H. 890=21st April 1485 A.D.).

(18) May its depth not appear as long as there is water in the sea ! O God ! keep it full of sweet water for ever !

(19) Amen, O Lord of the universe !

The other inscription on the Battīsī-Bāoṛī, forming the fifth record of Ghiyāth Shāh and seventeenth in our article, appears to the left of the entrance,[1] and is identical in purport as well as calligraphy with the other record, except that here the composer indulges in poetic praise of the various parts, viz. terrace, stairs, pavilion, etc. of the well, gives the date of its completion as 1487-88 A.D. and mentions only the title Shāriqu'l-Mulk of the builder. However, a striking aspect of the record is that the quality of its verses is on the whole fairly high. The composer's name is given as Ilahdād.

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[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 47.

The text is inscribed on a tablet measuring 80 by 76 cm. and reads as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXII(b)

(۱) بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

(۲) حبذا این عین اعظم کین زمان شد در زمین   بارک الله جاودان پر باد چون ماء معین

(۳) آستانش دلپذیر و نردبانش بی‌نظیر   صحن ارکانش منیر و فرش بنیانش متین

(۴) منبعش راحت فزا و مطلعش محنت زدا   مصدرش فرحت‌نما و موردش بهجت گزین

(۵) یا رب این نهر نعیم است یا زلال سلسبیل   ویحک این ماء معین است یا ز تسنیم انگبین

(۶) مسجدش اقصاست یا معمور یا ذات‌العماد   مهبط غلمانست یا رضوان یا حوراء عین

(۷) بوستانش مرغزار جنت است یا باغ خلد   گلستانش گلبن رومست یا گلزار چین

(۸) گه دل کوثر شود از غیرت صافیش آب   گاه زمزم پر عرق از رشک گردد تا جبین

(۹) سالکانرا ''لی مع الله وقت'' هردم اندر آنست   صوفیانرا هر زمان ''وصل الی‌الله'' اندرین

(۱۰) عابدانرا کشف ''من اخلص'' شود ظاهر ازان   عارفان را ''من عرف'' زین حاصل آید بالیقین

(۱۱) انکه در دل آرزو دارد پئ دید از بهشت   گو دمی آرام گیر اینجا کے بهشتست همچنین

(۱۲) هر که بیند این مقام دلفزا گوید بخلق   هذه جنات عدن فادخلوها خالدین

(۱۳) گر دلت بر جشن میل آرد بایوانش درا   انکه زین سان کمترست در ملک عالم خوشترین

(۱۴) ور سر گل گشت داری خیز بسم الله خرام   در گلستانش بهر سو کن تفرج بر زمین

(۱۵) مرحبا توفیق حق کامد رفیق ذات پاک   شارق الملک انکه کلکش رحمة للعالمین

(۱۶) صد هزاران عون ایزد بر دلش بادا شفیق   کین بنا آمود چون انهار فردوس برین

(۱۷) اجر این خیرات جاری کام دل......   لطف حق بر مقتضاء نعم اجر المحسنین

(۱۸) روز مبدأ ای الهداد ار قران دادی بماه   سال مختم جیم و صاد و ضاد ابجد کن قرین

(۱۹) آمین رب العالمین

TRANSLATION

(1) In the name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

(2) Bravo for this great stream which has appeared on the earth ! Blessed be Allāh! May it be full of flowing water for ever !

(3) Its threshold is pleasing and its steps are matchless ; its courtyard of pillars is illuminating and the foundation of its flooring is strong.

(*a*) Record of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, dated A.H. 899, from Sarangpur (p. 72)

SCALE : ·13

(*b*) Epigraph of the same king, dated A.H. 893, from Chanderi (p. 70)

SCALE : ·15

(4) Its source is comfort-giving and its rising-place grief-dispelling ; its starting-point is happiness-indicating and its ending-place joy-giving.

(5) O Lord ! is this the stream of bounty or is it the limpid Salsabīl ?[1] O fortune ! is it flowing water or honey from Tasnīm ?[1]

(6) Its mosque—is it (the mosque) Aqṣā, or Ka'ba, or (Iram) the house of pillars (built by Shaddād)? Is it a descending-place for unbearded youths of Paradise, or for its keeper, or for its black-eyed houries ?

(7) Its garden—is it the meadow of Paradise or the garden of heaven ? Its rose-garden—is it the rose-garden of Byzantium or China ?

(8) At times, the heart of the stream of Kauthar turns into water due to jealousy of its pure water ; at other times, Zamzam is immersed in perspiration upto its forehead on account of envy.

(9) In it, the travellers on the spiritual path have every moment the experience of 'I have a time with Allāh'; therein, the mystics have every time 'union with Allāh'.

(10) The devotees get here the explanation of the meaning of the maxim, 'He who prays exclusively and sincerely'; the gnostics can undoubtedly achieve here the benefit of 'He who knows himself, knows his Lord'.[2]

(11) He who has desire to be favoured with a glimpse of the Paradise, let him come and rest here for a while, because Paradise is (only) like this.

(12) Whoever sees this heart-ravishing place announces to people, 'These are the eternal gardens ; therefore, enter these for ever'.[3]

(13) If your heart is inclined towards entertainment, just enter its pavilion, the like of which, in pleasantness, is rare in the world.

(14) And if you wish to have a promenade in the garden, get up and start in the name of Allāh, and have a walk in every corner of its garden on earth.

(15) Greetings that the favour of God became the companion of the pious person of Shāriqu'l-Mulk whose pen is mercy for the worlds.[4]

(16) May a hundred thousand favours of God be his heart's sympathiser, since this construction (step-well) is full like the streams of the highest heaven !

(17) May he get the reward of these flowing bounties to his heart's desire by the favour of God, in accordance with the saying, 'How nice is the reward of those who do good!'

(18) O Ilahdād ! the day of its beginning may be had if you provide conjunction to the moon (or month).[5] (And) for the year of its completion, add up the *Abjad* values of *jīm*, *ṣād* and *ḍād* (3+90+800=A.H. 893=1487-88 A.D.).

(19) Amen ! O the Lord of the universe !

---

[1] Names of streams in Paradise.

[2] The pharses in inverted commas in lines 9-10, are parts of the sayings of the Prophet.

[3] Cf. *Qur'ān*, chapter XCVIII, verse 8.

[4] Reference to his being a minister.

[5] This hemistich is not quite clear. It contains some sort of chronogram providing the year of its commencement which was, as we know from the previous record, A. H. 890.

XVIII. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 899, FROM SARANGPUR

The sixth record of Ghiyāth Shāh and eighteenth of the article is from Sarangpur in Raigarh district of Madhya Pradesh.[1] It may be pointed out that this is the only inscription of the group composed in Arabic language. The square-shaped inscriptional tablet, measuring 55 cm. a side, is fixed over the southern entrance of a domed building locallly called Pahlawān-kā-Gumbad.[2] It contains four lines of writing inscribed in *Naskh* letters of no particular merit, but the execution of the prolonged shafts of its straight and vertical letters and horizontal placings of its rounded letters like *nūns*, etc., recall to mind this calligraphical aspect of the inscriptions of Bengal.

The record is also important in that it refers to the construction of a *madrasa* (educational institution) in 1493 A.D. It also quotes the full name and titles as well as *kunya* of the reigning king, viz. Mughīthu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ Ghiyāth Shāh,[3] and mentions Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Badārat Khaljī, the *majmu'dār*, as its builder and Khān-i-A'ẓam Rustam Khān, as the *muqti'* of the *shiq* of Sārangpūrā.[4] An intriguing aspect of the epigraph is that the term Shuhūr sana marks the date 22nd Rabī' I, year 899. Used as it is along with the month, it is generally taken to indicate Shuhūr era, particularly in the Deccan. The date of the inscription does not help in the determination of either one era or the other, since if the era is taken to be Shuhūr, its Hijra equivalent 905 also falls in the reign of this monarch. Recent epigraphical discoveries, on the other hand, seem to vouchsafe the use of Shuhūr era even in northern India.[5] But we feel that here the Hijra era is intended.

The reading of the part of the name of the builder is also somewhat doubtful. It may be read as Khānī or Khaljī. We have preferred the latter. Bidārat Khaljī, the builder, who enjoyed the title of Maliku'sh-Sharq and post of *majmu'dār* is untraceable in historical works, while the governor of Sarangpur, Rustam Khān, though more fortunate, finds a mere passing mention, according to which, he paid obeisance to Nāṣir Shāh in A. H. 905.[6]

The text has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXII(a)

(۱) بناء هذا المدرسة فے عهد السلطان [ا]لاعظم المعظم مغيث الدنيا و الدين

(۲) ابو الفتح غياث شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان الخلجے خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه فے عمل خان

(۳) اعظم و خاقان معظم رستم خان مقطع شق سارنگپورا ملك الشرق ملك بدارت خلجے[7]

(۴) مجموعدار الثانى و العشرين من شهر ربيع الاول شهور سنة تسع و تسعين ثمانماية

TRANSLATION

(1) This *madrasa* (college) was built in the reign of the great and magnificent king Mughīthu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn

---

[1] The inscription was noticed by M. Sa'īd Aḥmad in his Urdu work, *Āthār-i-Khair* (Agra, 1905), on page 33, but his reading is corrupt.

[2] It was copied by Shri W. H. Siddiqi.

[3] See also Inscription No. XIII above.

[4] This seems to be the spelling of the town-name in the epigraph.

[5] *ARIE*, 1962-63, Nos. D, 89-90.

[6] Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 568.

[7] Or خانے.

(2) Abu'l-Fatḥ Ghiyāth Shāh, son of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī, may Allāh perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, in time of the governorship (*'amal*) of

(3) the great Khān and magnificent Khāqān, Rustam Khān, *muqṭi'* of the *shiq* of Sārangpūrā by Maliku'sh-Sharq Malik Bidārat Khaljī,[1]

(4) the *majmu'dār*, on the 22nd of the month of Rabī'u'l-Awwal of the months of the year (A.H.) nine and ninety (and) eight hundred (22nd Rabī' I A. H. 899=31st December 1493 A.D.).

XIX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 900, FROM CHANDERI

The nineteenth inscription, being the seventh of Ghiyāth Shāh, is again from Chanderi. Fixed on the central *miḥrāb* of the 'Īdgāh of the town,[2] its tablet, measuring 88 by 41 cm., contains seven lines of Persian verses recording the construction of the *namāzgāh*, i.e. place of 'Īd prayers, by Masnad-i-'Ālī 'Alī, entitled Sher Khān, in 1495 A.D. during the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn.

So far as we know, the personal name of this famous nobleman—who has been already mentioned in inscription Nos. XIV and XV above—is nowhere mentioned except here for the first time. The text of inscription No. XIV above does contain a hint to this fact, but it is too vague to admit an assertion.

The text is in Persian verse of a tolerably good quality, and the style of writing is fair *Naskh*. It has been read as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXI(b)

(۱) شکر مر حق را بر[3] مسند عالی عالی تبار   شیر خان را شد برای این بنا توفیق یار
(۲) کین نمازگه بعهد خسرو روی زمین   شه غیاث الدین بکرد اتمام آن اهل وقار
(۳) آن علی کورا خطاب شیر خان زیبد چنانک   مر علی را بد خطاب شیر حق زیبا شعار
(۴) دیده دوران عدیل این عمارت را ندید   در نزاهت در صفا اندر اقالیم و دیار
(۵) سال نهصد بد ز هجرت ماه رمضان سیزده   چون مرتب شد ز عون و رحمت پروردگار
(۶) یا الاهی بانیش را از کرم داری نگاه   تا که مهرومه بود بر چرخ گردان بر قرار
(۷) نیز تا ایام عید و جمعه هست اندر جهان   چون فلک ارکان جاه و دولتش باقی بدار

TRANSLATION

(1) Thank God that Masnad-i-'Ālī Sher Khān of noble origin was inspired by God to carry out construction of this edifice.

(2) That man of dignity completed this *namāzgāh* (i.e. 'Īdgāh) in the reign of the ruler on the surface of the world, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn.

(3) (He is) that 'Alī whom the title of Sher Khān befits, just as the title Sher-i-Ḥaq (lion of God) was the becoming sobriquet of (the fourth caliph) 'Alī.

(4) The eye of Time has not seen the like of this building, in point of cleanliness and purity, throughout the climes and countries.

---

[1] Or Khānī.

[2] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 58. *ARADG*, 1927-28, Appendix D, No. 126, where the date is not given.

[3] It should have been "كه".

(5) The year from the Migration was nine hundred (and it was) thirteenth of the month of Ramaḍān (13th Ramaḍān A. H. 900=7th June 1495 A. D.), when (it) was completed with the help and mercy of the Creator.

(6) O God! favour its builder with your protection, as long as the sun and the moon exist on the revolving sky!

(7) Also, as long as the world celebrates the days of ʻĪd and Friday, make the pillars of his position and fortune everlasting like the sky!

XX. INSCRIPTION, DATED A. H. 904, FROM FATHABAD

The twentieth inscription is from the village Fathabad, near Chanderi.[1] Representing the eighth record of G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ S̲h̲āh, its square tablet measures 50 cm. a side and is fixed on the east side of the step-well locally called ʻĀliya-Bāoṛī. It contains a poetical fragment of seven verses.

This record is quite important in that it refers to Malik Lādan entitled S̲h̲āriqu'l-Mulk, a minister of G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ S̲h̲āh, who is completely ignored by the histotians. It states that S̲h̲āriqu'l-Mulk constructed a lofty palace or palatial house,[2] at Fatḥābād-Chanderī, containing a step-well and a garden, in 1499 A. D. The quality of the verses, which are composed by a poet with the name Dānyāl, is fairly good, though not so good as its style of writing which is *Nask̲h̲* of a very pleasing type.

We are unable to trace the minister Malik Lādan entitled S̲h̲āriqu'l-Mulk in historical works at our disposal. It will be remembered that one of his predecessors in office, if not his immediate one, who enjoyed the same title, was Malik Ṭag̲h̲ī mentioned in the Chanderi inscriptions of 1485 A. D. (Nos. XVI, XVII). The poet Dānyāl is also an obscure figure.

The text of the record is deciphered as under :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII(a)

(۱) بعهد خسرو خلجی غیاث الدین ذوالاحسان
بفتحاباد چندیری بنا کردند این ایوان

(۲) زهی عالی بنائے خوب همچو خلد آرسته
ز فر و زیب وی هر لحظه غیرت میبرد رضوان

(۳) چه ایوانی که بائین دارد و باغی چو فردوسی
که آبش میدهد الحق نشان از چشمهٔ حیوان

(۴) بکرد این خانه وین[3] باغ و بائین را ملک لادن
که هست او شارق گردون حشمت آصف دوران

(۵) وزیر شاه و دستور ممالک ناظر و صاحب
خطابش کز بزرگی شارق الملک است از سلطان

---

[1] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 65.

[2] The original has *aiwān* in lines 1, 3 and *k̲h̲āna* in lines 4, 6, 7.

[3] Should be "واین" to conform to the metre.

PLALE XXIII

(*a*) Record of G͟hiyāt͟hu'd-Dīn, dated A.H. 904, from Fathabad (p. 74)

SCALE : ·19

(*b*) Damaged epigraph of the same king, from Piranpur (p. 75)

SCALE : ·19

(٦) دو(؟)[1] و دو نهصد از تاریخ هجرت ماه ذی القعده
که این خانه مرتب شد ز فضل و رحمت یزدان
(٧) بکن ختم سخن را بر دعا ای دانیال اکنون
که بادا بانی این خانه اندر عیش جاویدان

TRANSLATION

(1) In the reign of the Khaljī king, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, lord of bounty, at Fatḥābād-Chanderī, this palatial house was built.

(2) What an exalted and fine structure, ornamented like Paradise, it is! Riḍwān feels jealous of its pomp and beauty every minute.

(3) What a palace that contains a step-well as well as a garden like Paradise! Verily, its water indicates the sign to the Fountain of life.

(4) Malik Lādan who is the luminary of the sky of grandeur and *Āṣaf* (i.e. minister) of the time, constructed this house, garden and step-well.

(5) (He is) the minister, the *dastūr* of the kingdom, *nāẓir* and *ṣāḥib*, since his title from the king, on account of his greatness, is Shāriqu'l-Mulk.

(6) The year from the Migration was two (?) and two and nine hundred, and month Dhi'l-Qa'da (Dhi'l-Qa'da A. H. 904=June-July 1499 A. D.), when this house was built by the grace and mercy of God.

(7) Oh Dānyāl! now end your speech with a prayer that, may the builder of this house enjoy life for ever!

XXI. DAMAGED INSCRIPTION FROM PIRANPUR

The ninth and the last inscripton of Ghiyāth Shāh and the twentyfirst of the group, is to be seen in the village Piranpur, situated about three kilometres east of Chanderi.[2] It is fixed on the left of the entrance steps of Jhanājhan-Bāoṛī. The epigraphical tablet having badly weathered, the letters thereon have peeled off in many places, so that the date and some other particulars are lost. The surviving portion assigns the construction of a step-well to a person, whose name reads like Mihsharī or Maheshari Kishnūn, in the reign of Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn. It also appears that he held the post of *majmu'dār* and acted perhaps as a secretary to a nobleman, but the details are lost; from the use of the word *ṣāḥib*, it may be inferred that his employer was a minister.

The text consisting of seven verses in Persian has been inscribed in *Naskh* letters of a fairly good type on a slab measuring 56 by 64 cm., and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIII(b)

(١) ....لی

(٢) بحمد الله که این [با]ئین بحسن همت بانی — چه خوش روح[س]ت و خوش [منظر]......

(٣) بدور خسرو عالم شهنشاه بنی آدم — غیاث الدین شه اعظم فریدون عهد و جم ثانے

(٤) بوضع بےمثال اکنون بکرده مهشرے کشنون — که او را داد......عطارد(؟)..........نے

[1] The portion being slightly damaged here, this reading is doubtful, but no other reading seems to be possible.
[2] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 63.

(۵) خوشا مجموعدار امجد دبیر(؟) صاحب مفرد ‌ ‌ ‌ که این بائین بکر.....................نے

(۶) [بود] آ[بش] چو نیشکر مزاه ازشیر و شکر ‌ ‌ ‌ نه بل شیرینست چو کوثر ....

(۷) .... ‌ ‌ ‌ ....لطف سبحانے

(۸) .... ‌ ‌ ‌ ....

TRANSLATION

(1) ....

(2) Praise be to Allāh that this step-well is completed with the praiseworthy aspirations of the builder. How heart-cherishing and beautiful..

(3) In the reign of the king of the world, emperor of mankind, Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn the great king, Farīdūn of the age and second Jamshīd,

(4) it was built now in a matchless style by Mihsharī (or Maheshari) Kishnūm. He got........ Mars....................................... ......

(5) How happy is (this) respected *majmu'dār*, secretary to the unique *ṣāḥib* (minister?) that this step-well ....

(6) Its water is like sugarcane (and) its taste is like milk mixed with sugar. Nay, it is sweet as Kauthar ....

(7) .... mercy of the Holy God..

(8) ....

Nāṣir Shāh

XXII-XXIII. INSCRIPTIONS, DATED A. H. 908 AND 909, FROM CHANDERI

Nāṣiru'd-Dīn is represented in the present study by two inscriptions, both from the same well, called Gol-Bāoṛī, at Chanderi. The first is fixed on the right side of the entrance steps[1] and comprises eight lines of writing stating that Ṣabāḥ-i-Khair and Gul-i-Bihisht, the two *umm walads* of the great saint Shaikh Burhān, son of 'Alāu'l-Ḥaq, constructed the step-well and a mosque nearby in the name of the saint, during the reign of Naṣīru'd-Dīn Khaljī. The well was founded in November 1502 A. D., but only completed, according to the other epigraph on the well, sometime during the following year.

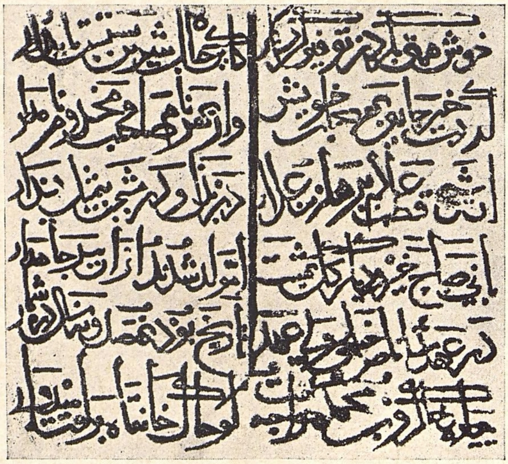
The text reads the name of the king as Naṣīru'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn, while it is Nāṣir in the second inscription. However in view of the poetry of these epigraphs, it is not unlikely that this was necessitated by the metre of the verses. The saint Burhān, son of 'Alāu'l-Ḥaq, mentioned in the record with the honorific title Quṭb-i-'Ālam, must have enjoyed great respect. Historians mention one Shaikh Burhān who was sent with Shaikh Auliyā by Ghiyāth Shāh on a mission to his son Nāṣir Shāh.[2]

This Shaikh Burhān may be identical with the saint Burhān of our inscription. In any case, the epigraph furnishes information about the saint. Nothing is known about the two mothers of the children of the saint, Ṣabāḥ-i-Khair and Gul-i-Bihisht, who constructed the step-well and the mosque in the name of the saint. They are stated to have been responsible for other charitable

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 48.

[2] Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, *op. cit.*, p. 568; Firishta, *op. cit.* p. 259.

(*a*) Epigraph of Nāṣir Shāh, dated A.H. 909, from Chanderi (p. 78)



SCALE : ·15

(*b*) Another version of the above, dated A.H. 908 (p. 77)

SCALE : ·25

works of minor nature, but no details are given. Likewise, the composer of the text, whose name we have read as Sadhan Shah, appears to a be a man of local importance and perhaps a disciple of the saint as well.

The square tablet bearing this epigraph measures 47 cm. a side and has slightly weathered, particularly in the right side towards the bottom. The quality of verse as well as calligraphy which is *Naskh* is without any particular merit.

The text reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIV(b)

(۱) بحمد الله که این چاهی جواب حوض کوثر شد
بعون فیض ربانی که بانی را میسر شد

(۲) بعهد خسرو اعظم نصیر الدین و الدنیا
بر آمد تخت جمشیدی جهانی ازو منور شد

(۳) دگر مسجد که پر نور است ارا یافت زر[1] گیتی
ارم ذات العمادست ان درین کشور که منظر شد

(۴) که کرده خیر خود جاری ازین چاه و ازین مسجد
که شهری و مسافر را منافع جان پرور شد

(۵) ز قطب اقطاب عالم شیخ برهان بن علا و الحق
شدند اولد از شیخ شان چو بخت یاور شد

(۶) صباح خیر و گل بهشت بانی چاه را نامش
چو کردند خیرها دیگر ولی این خیر اکبر شد

(۷) جماد الاول ماه بود(؟) بست و چهار تاریخش
ز هجرت سال نهصد بود و دیگر هشت برتر شد

(۸) سدهن شه(؟) گفت تاریخی برای چاه و مسجد را
بوقت گفتن تاریخ دهنش پر ز شکر شد

TRANSLATION

(1) Praise be to Allāh, that this well has become a replica of the stream of Kauthar, through the help of the grace of God which was conferred on the builders.

(2) in the reign of the great king Naṣīru'd-Dīn wa'd-Dunyā, who ascended the throne of Jamshīd (and) through whom the world was enlightened.

(3) Then (was also built) a mosque which is full of light and from which the world received ornament ; it is the Iram of lofty columns in the land, where it has appeared.

[1] This should probably be "زو".

(4) The builders, in constructing this well and this mosque, have made their good deeds flowing, thus imparting soul-refreshing benefits to the inhabitant as well the traveller.

(5) Since the luck was in favour, (the builders) became mothers of the children of the pole-star among the pole-stars of the world, Shaikh Burhān, son of 'Alāu'l-Ḥaq.

(6) The names of the builders are Ṣabāḥ-i-Khair and Gul-i-Bihisht, who carried out many other good works but this is the greatest of all.

(7) It was the month of Jumāda'l-Awwal and its date was tewntyfour, year nine hundred and above it eight from the Migration (24th Jumādā I A. H., 908=25th November 1502 A. D.).

(8) SadhanShah composed the chronogram for the well and the mosque ; at the time of composing the date, his mouth was filled with sugar.

The other inscription on the well forms the twentythird and the last of the present study. Its tablet measuring 49 by 47 cm. is fixed to the left of the entrance steps,[1] and contains a text of six verses in Persian, composed by Muḥammad, son of Khwāja. Their purport is the same as in the previous record except that Nāṣir Shāh is here mentioned as *walī-i-'aḥd* meaning 'saint of the time'. Its date A. H. 909 (1503-04 A. D.) is evidently that of the completion. The composer Muḥammad, son of Khwāja, has already been mentioned in the previous lines as the composer of an epigraph (No. XIV).

The text is executed in ordinary *Naskh* and runs as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXIV(a)

(۱) خوش همتی بکرد ز توفیق کردگار　　کاین چاه آب شیرین بستست پایدار
(۲) کردست خیر جاری بهر نجات خویش　　و از بهر نام صاحب و مخدوم نامدار
(۳) آن شیخ قطب عالم برهان بن علا　　در بذل و در مشیخت بیمثل دیندار
(۴) بانی صباح خیر و دیگر گل بهشت　　امولد شدند ازان پیر جاهدار
(۵) در عهد شاه ناصر خلجی ولے عهد　　تاریخ بود نهصد و نه سال در شمار
(۶) بیچاره خاکروب محمد خواجه گفت　　کو خاک خانقاه برفته امیدوار

TRANSLATION

(1) Great aspiration was shown (by the builders) who, through the grace of the Creater, constructed this strong well of sweet water.

(2) They undertook this flowing bounty for their salvation and for perpetuating the name of their famous master and lord,

(3) that Shaikh (who is) the pole-star of the world, Burhān, son of 'Alā, who is matchless in generosity, learning and religiousness.

(4) The builders are Ṣabāḥ-i-Khair and Gul-i-Bihisht who were *umm-walads* of that dignified saint.

(5) In the reign of the king Nāṣir Khaljī who is the saint of the time, the year was (A.H.) nine hundred and nine in reckoning (A. H. 909=1503-04 A. D.).

(6) The humble sweeper (of his court), Muḥammad (son of) Khwāja, who has swept the dust of the Khānqāh (of the Shaikh) hopefully, has composed (these verses).

[1] *ARIE*, 1961-62, No. D, 49.

TWO PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF JAHANGIR FROM MADHYA PRADESH

BY M. F. KHAN

Of the two inscriptions studied in the following lines, the first is from Shivpuri, headquarters of the district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh.[1] Variously written as Sheopuri, Sipri or Seopuri, the town is situated in 25°40′ N. and 76°42′ E. on the right bank of the Sip river and lies about 74 miles to the south of Gwalior on the Agra-Bombay Trunk road. Its stone fort is mentioned by Abu'l-Faḍl.[2] Both the town and the fort are said to have been founded by Gaur Rajputs in 1537 A.D.[3] It was from this town that in 1560 A.D., the Mughal expedition of Malwa despatched under Bahādur Khān Shaibānī by Bairam Khān was called off owing to the strained relations of the latter with his ward Akbar.[4] Seven years later, when Akbar was advancing on Chitor, the fort of Shivpuri surrendered to him without resistance.[5] In 1808 A.D., when this region fell to Daulat Rāo Sindhia, it was granted to his general Jean Baptist Filose who wrested the fort from the Gaurs. The Sindhias used Shivpuri as their summer capital.

A portion of the town is old and called Purani Shivpuri. It is here that the epigraph under study was found. Inscribed on a pillar which is lying loose in front of a temple in Baṛā Bazār-Maḥalla, the epigraph, though damaged and executed crudely, is an important bilingual record containing eighteen lines of Persian and thirteen lines of local dialect written in *Naskh* and *Nāgarī* characters respectively. The Persian version registers an order (*farmān*) of the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr advising the officials like *jāgīrdārs, karorīs* and *'ummāls* of the *pargana* Shīvpurī in the *sarkār* Narwar of the *ṣūba* Mālwa about the remission of taxes like *jizya, zakāt*,[6] etc. The order was issued in A. H. 1035 (1626 A. D.), when Rāja Rām Dās was in charge of the territory. The latter is evidently identical with Rāja Rām Dās Narwarī, a *manṣab*-holder in the reign of Jahāngīr. He is reported to have died in A. H. 1049 (1639-40 A. D.).[7]

The inscription has not been published before, but it was briefly noticed in the past thus: 'it is an edict issued by Raja Sri Ram Das? and warns the Jagirdaran of Perganah Shivpuri, Sarkar Narwar, Suba Malwa'; its year was also given as A. H. 1040.[8]

It may be worthwhile to note that the text spells the name of the town as Shīvpurī and not Sipri as it was known until recently. The inscriptional tablet measures 40 cm. by 1.93 m. The Persian version, which occupies an area of 40 by 75 cm. on the slab, has been deciphered as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXV(a)

(۱) هو الفیاض

(۲) درین وقت فرمان عالیشان واجب العز

[1] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (*ARIE*), 1961-62, No. D, 92.

[2] Abu'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* (Calcutta, 1872), p. 450.

[3] For details, see *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (*IG*), vol. XXII (Oxford, 1908), p. 272.

[4] Richard Burn, ed. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. IV (Delhi, 1957), p. 77.

[5] *Ibid.*; *IG*, p. 272.

[6] For details about these taxes, see Dr. R. P. Tripathi, *Some aspects of Muslim Administration* (Allahabad, 1956), Appendix A.

[7] For his career, see Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. II (Calcutta, 1890), pp. 226-28.

[8] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Gualior State*, 1928-29, Appendix D, Nos. 57-58.

(۳) و الاذعان شرف صدور یافته کی جاگیردا

(۴) ران و کروریان و عمالان پرگنه شیوپری سرکار

(۵) نرور صوبه مالوه از حال و استقبال بدانند کی

(۶) عمالات که در عهد جلوس جهانگیری ماخوذ(؟)

(۷) است از قسم جزیه و کتوره(؟) و زکات قرض حسن و غیره حکم

(۸) جهانمطاع آفتاب شعاع گردون ارتفاع صادر شد

(۹) کی احدی از احاد مطالبه و مواخذه آن ننماید

(۱۰) و اگر احیاناً ازین باب آفریده ازسکنهٔ آن پرگنه(؟)

(۱۱) استغاثه بروی اشرف اقدس رساند هر امیران و

(۱۲) عمال و حکام را عتاب و خفت بادشاهی که نمونهٔ

(۱۳) قهر الهی است بقهر گرفتار خواهد شدی

(۱۴) باید کی قضایات(؟) فرخنده رقم را سطوراً و فرداً ازحد

(۱۵) تجاوز......... نشوند در امر بادشاهی ....

(۱۶) ....خود باطل شود بتاریخ هفتم شهر

(۱۷) ذالقاده سنه ۱۰۳۵ عمل راجا

(۱۸) ....رامداس

TRANSLATION

(1) God is bountiful!

(2) At this time, the imperial mandate, worthy of respect

(3-5) and obedience, received the honour of issue to this effect that the present as well as the future *jāgīrdārs*, *karorīs* and *'ummāls*[1] of the *pargana* Shīvpurī in the *sarkār* Narwar of the *ṣūba* Mālwa should know that (in respect of)

(6) certain imposts which were current at the time of the accession of emperior Jahāngīr like

(7) *jizya*, *kitūra*(?), *zakāt*, *qarḍ-i-ḥasan*,[2] etc., the order

(8) obeyed by all the world and with sun-like rays and as high as the sky, was issued

(9) that none from among the *aḥadīs*[3] should demand and collect (the above-mentioned levies),

(10) and if by chance, in this matter, any creature from among the inhabitants of the *pargana*

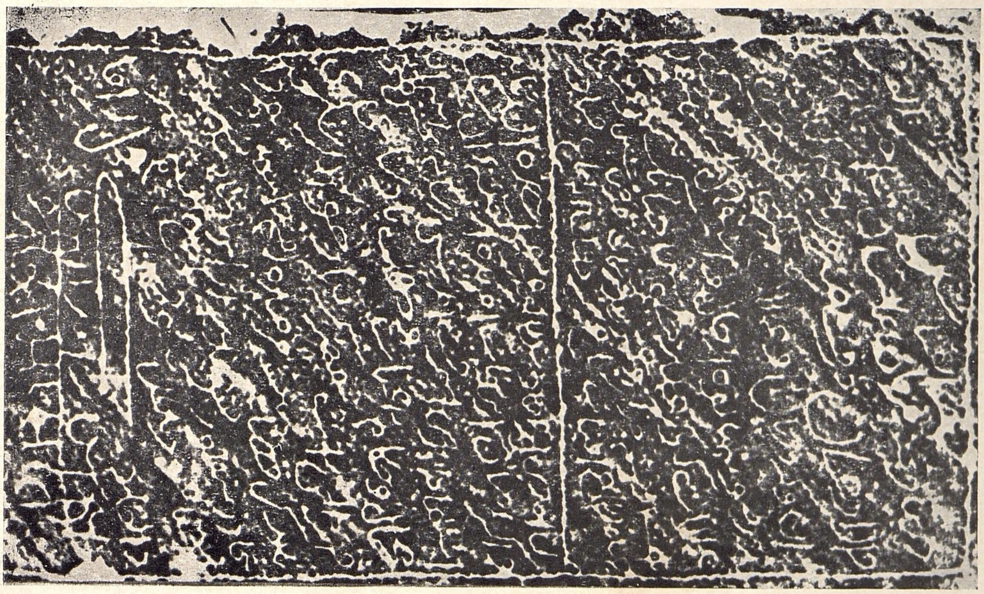
---

[1] For the duties, etc., of these revenue officials, see Sri Ram Sharma, *Mughal Government and Administration* (Bombay, 1951), p. 243.

[2] Literally meaning 'a good loan', it signifies money advanced without interest and repaid at the convenience of the borrower.

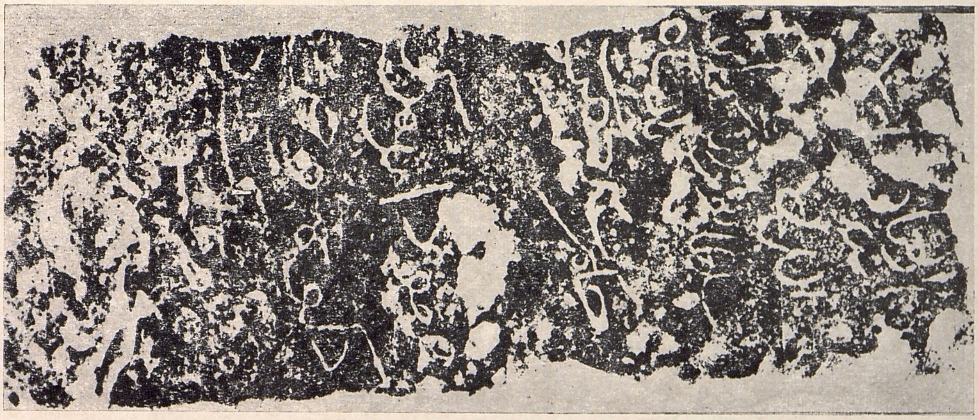
[3] For Aḥadī, a gentleman trooper, see Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

INSCRIPTIONS OF JAHĀNGĪR



(*a*) Inscription of Jahāngīr, dated A.H. 1035, from Shivpuri (p. 79)

SCALE : ·19



(*b*) Another record of the same king, from Kolaras (p. 81)

SCALE : ·19

(11) complains before the exalted and pious Majesty, the nobles,

(12) *'ummāls* and officials will be liable to royal displeasure and anger which is like

(13) the wrath of God and will be confronted with royal wrath.

(14) It is imperative that the requisites of the order of auspicious writting, either *in toto* or in parts,

(15) are not deviated from. From the royal order.......................................

(16) ....will be nullified. Dated the seventh (of the) month of

(17) Dhāl-Qāda, year (A. H.) 1035 (7th Dhi'l-Qa'da A. H. 1035=21st July 1626 A. D.), during the governorship of Rājā

(18) ....Rām Dās.

We are informed by Jahāngīr himself that he had promulgated an ordinance—first of his twelve issued in his first regnal year, i.e. A. H. 1014 (1605 A. D.)—prohibiting the levy of taxes like *zakāt*, etc.[1] Therefore, it is not clear why this order was again issued. An explanation for this may be that the date A. H. 1035 was not the date of the issue of the order but that of the setting up of the pillar to draw attention of the people as well as defaulting officials to the original order.

The second inscription comes from Kolaras, a *tahsil* headquarters in the Shivpuri district.[2] Situated in 25°10′ N. and 77°35′ E. on the high road from Gwalior to Indore, about midway between Sipri and Mayana, the town is remarkable for the number of its Satī monuments of which quite a few are historically important.[3] Abu'l-Faḍl mentions it as a place of Hindu pilgrimage and Mr. Finch, an English traveller who halted there while on his way from Surat to Agra, found it 'a small pretty town'. It lay on the trunk route from north to south as is indicated by a record, inscribed and set up by Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Nāmī, taking note of the fact that Akbar had passed through the town on his way to Deccan in A. H. 1008.[4]

The pillar on which this epigraph is engraved is called Gandī-Chīrā and is fixed up on the side of a road near the Jāmi'-Masjid. It also contains a *farmān* of Jahāngīr. Unfortunately, the pillar is fragmentary, and moreover badly damaged. As a result, the letters are badly mutilated. Also, the style of writing which is *Nasta'līq* is quite crude, thus rendering the decipherment still more difficult. Anyway the surviving readable portion purports to quote an imperial order announcing the annulment of *zakāt, jizya*, etc., by the order of emperor Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngīr. It does not not contain any date or names.

The text runs into nine lines of writing in Persian and reads as follows :—

TEXT

Plate XXV(b)

(۱) .... الا

(۲) الله........................

[1] *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, ed. Syed Ahmed (Aligarh, 1863), p. 4.

[2] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 101.

[3] A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vols. I-II (Simla 1871), pp. 302-09.

[4] *ARIE*, 1962-63, No. D, 100.

(۳) سلطان نورالدین جهانگیر

(۴) بادشاه

(۵) حکم شد که حضرت

(۶) فرمود[ه] اند هر که

(۷) ذکوة (Sic.) و جزیه

(۸) معاف فرمود[ه]

(۹) شد

TRANSLATION

(1) ....but

(2) Allāh............................ .. ..

(3) Sulṭān Nūru'd-Dīn Jahāngīr

(4) Bādshāh

(5) order was issued that His Majesty

(6) has desired that whoever......................

(7) *zakāt* and *jizya*

(8-9) have been remitted.[1]

[1] The above two inscriptions were copied by Shri S. A. Rahim.

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